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ABSTRACT

Case studies of three Philippine villages were undertaken to find the impact of schools on youths (both in and out of school), parents, graduates, and community. Educational alternatives included the barrio high school (general academic/college preparatory), pilot barrio development school (secondary school for youths who intend to stay in the barrio as farm operators), and a national high school (college preparatory/vocational choice). In all three (though there were some dramatic differences among villages) a majority of rural youths did not prefer farming; a college education was seen as the key to a better future, youths out of school felt more deprived than youths in school, presence of a high school was perceived as a positive development factor, and few employment opportunities existed for rural youth. In the village with both vocational and college degree curriculums, graduates' choices had little impact on their employment patterns. The barrio development school's supervised farming program generated most favorable support from all respondents. Future work was urged in formal vs. nonformal training for self-employment in farming; effect of education, training, employment on rural-urban migration; education as a measure of equity; and education and population control motivation. (RS)

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alternatives for rural youth:
THREE VILLAGE-LEVEL CASE STUDIES IN THE PHILIPPINES

A Summary Report

by

GELIA T. CASTILLO
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ALTERNATIVES FOR RURAL YOUTH: THREE VILLAGE-LEVEL CASE STUDIES* IN THE PHILIPPINES

by GELIA T. CASTILLO, DIONISIA M. ARBOLEDA, LORNA P. DOMINGO and VIRGINIA M. LASAP**

INTRODUCTION

There was a time when youth was romantically looked upon as the "Fair Hope of our Fatherland" until the population explosion came and made them the "most challenging problem of today." Because half of our population are below 15, educating the youth is a major national enterprise. Elementary schooling is regarded as a basic human right of every Filipino and therefore, there is no question that every child should have access to it. At the secondary level, there are continuing debates on vocational-academic; terminal-college-preparatory; formal-nonformal education in relation to employability, rural-urban migration,

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*The three reports are as follows: Alternatives for Rural Youths: A Case Study in Albay by D. M. Arboleda; A Case Study on Rural Youths in Masaya, Bay, Laguna by L. P. Domingo; and Focus on the Rural Youth: A Case Study in Lucban, Quezon by V. M. Lasap.

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and development-relevance. Because 68 percent of youths aged [illegible]4 are in the rural areas, the nature of high school education for them is a significant issue. While economists argue about rates of return, educated unemployment, and contributions of education to development, educators design and implement different curricula with specific remedial or developmental objectives in mind. Although there are a number of such educational schemes including fishery, trade, and agricultural high schools, there is considerable interest in the Barrio High School, because they have mushroomed all over the countryside; the Barrio Development School because it was tailored for rural development; and the old 2-2 Plan, because it combines features of both and yet is not quite like either of them.

In 1964-65 four barrio high schools were established with an enrollment of 352 students. As of 1968 there were 1,188 such schools with 118,193 students. On June 2, 1969, Republic Act 6054 was passed to institute a Charter for Barrio High Schools. The policy of the Act is, "to make possible equal opportunities for high school education for all the children of all the people of the Philippines regardless of birth or of the economic condition of their parents, thus enabling all the people to achieve high school education." Supportive of this policy are observations that: "the minimum requirements for employment in the lowest available job is graduation from high school"; that "the

two major causes of school drop-outs as revealed by official surveys are financial reason and distance of students from schools"; and that "the establishment of a high school close to the homes of students will solve, at least partly the problem of distance and consequently, the problem of economy." Furthermore, it was argued that "there is a direct relation between the level of education of the people and the level of their socio-economic status."

Under this Act, barrio high schools may be organized in the barrio at the instance of the Barrio Council whenever at least 40 students in the barrio are available to constitute a class. Parents should sign a petition for the establishment of the barrio high school. It is supported primarily by tuition fees paid by students. Salaries of full-time teachers and honoraria for part time teachers are paid from tuition fees. Existing facilities of elementary schools and their teachers may be employed on a part time basis for no more than two periods per day of classroom work. As a crowning glory, Dr. Pedro T. Orata, the man who conceived and initiated the barrio high school movement was given the 1971 Ramon Magsaysay Award for Public Service. In 1970-71, there were 1,621 such schools and perhaps about 2,000 at this time. Because the curriculum in the barrio high school is general academic and college-preparatory, there are some misgivings about its value. For example, two questions were raised: "Being a college-

preparatory school, what will the graduates do? How can the barrio high school contribute to the improvement of rural life"?[1]

As a consequence of these misgivings, the Barrio Development School concept was born and implemented in July 1970. The architects of this innovation had three basic considerations in designing their creation:

(1) "There are two kinds of youth who grow up in the barrio with respect to their future work and residence: those who will leave the barrio and those who will stay. For those who choose to leave the barrio, the Philippine educational system is providing plenty of opportunities for them to study in preparation for life outside the barrio... for those who are staying to live and work in the barrio, there is none."

(2) Agricultural high schools which are charged with the function of training youth who are farmers and who are preparing to become farmers have not really succeeded in doing so for majority of their graduates proceed on to college and are

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[1]T. E. Contado and S. R. Santos, Jr., UPCA/BNE Pilot Barrio Development School Progress Report May 1, 1971 to April 30, 1972, University of the Philippines, College of Agriculture, Department of Agricultural Education, College, Laguna, Philippines.

then lost to the barrio.

(3) Training in the existing schools is oriented toward being employees and not for entrepreneurial self-employment.

Given these weaknesses of present educational schemes, the new Barrio Development School (BDS) is described as "a secondary school program for the barrio youth who have decided to stay, live, and work in the barrio as a farm operator." The school curriculum includes, among others, a supervised farming program (conducted at the home farm of the student) as the core of classroom instruction reinforced by classroom instruction in production agriculture, tool subjects and citizenship subjects. The tool subjects are language usage (communication skills), applied arithmetic, applied science and farm economics. The medium of instruction is a mixture of Tagalog and English whichever facilitates the understanding and learning of new ideas. The citizenship subjects include: Reading, Philippine History, Philippine Government, World History and Health. Supervised farming activities take one-half day while the other subjects are studied during the other half. Classroom instruction in production agriculture and in the other supplementary subjects are taught in relation to the supervised farming programs of the students. In the natural setting of learning to farm by actually farming in his own farm, the future farm operator not only learns the skills of production but also acquires

the skills and abilities in coping with problems of supply, labor, credit, marketing and other management requirements of modern farming in the locality. Credit and savings education is emphasized. Through a guarantee fund scheme, the student is aided in getting loans from the rural bank and in using and paying for credit.

Support of the school is on a partnership basis. Through the student's tuition fee of ₱8.00 a month, the barrio people partly pay for the salary of the teachers. This gives the barrio people, particularly the parents, a sense of commitment and control of the school program. Under a partnership venture, the policies affecting the school and the community rest upon the Local Advisory Committee composed of the Barrio Captain, PTA President, one outstanding farmer leader, Public School District Supervisor, School Principal, and the Agriculture Teacher. This committee meets regularly once a month.

"The ultimate measure of success of the BDS is the establishment of economic-scale farming by the graduates."[2] It is a terminal four-year curriculum in the sense that the students cannot go to college.

The third type of secondary school offers the 2-2 Plan curriculum wherein the students take the same subjects during their first and

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[2]T. E. Contado, Education for Rural Development: The Case of the UPCA/BNE Barrio Development School Project, (Paper prepared for the Third World Congress for Rural Sociology, August 22-27, 1972 at Baton Rouge, Louisiana, U.S.A.).

second years and select either a college-preparatory or a vocational curriculum when they reach the third year. For college-bound students, more academic training is emphasized such as having more science and chemistry in their curriculum. For vocationally-inclined students, the areas of specialization range from agriculture, commercial and industrial arts, and general home economics. An important feature of this 2-2 Plan is that a student can in effect "have his cake and eat it too" for he will be able to go to college whether or not he chooses the college-preparatory or the vocational curriculum during the last 2 years.

It is a fact of life, however, that even when these educational alternatives exist, not all the children choose to or are able to participate hence the out-of-school youth phenomenon remains a substantial problem. What alternatives does society have for them? At least when one is studying, the employment problem is postponed for four years or more. For the out-of-school youth, it is an immediate concern. By its very nature, education, especially formal education is more readily planned and provided for but employment, particularly rural employment is often a by-product or a concomittant of the process of agricultural growth. There are no easily implementable grand schemes for employment - generation which parallel the innovations educators design - hence rural youth are limited to what the community

offers unless he moves to the city in search of "greener pastures" which are quite often, more brown than green. Contrary to prevalent urban beliefs, farming is not an alternative available to every rural youth even to those whose fathers are farmers because of small farm size relative to family size. And for landless families, there is certainly no land to farm.

A touch of irony is added to the situation of out-of-school youth when one looks at the child labor law adopted by the International Labour Organization that "the minimum age for child employment is 14, whether for industry or agriculture." In the Philippines, the Woman and Child Labor Law provides that: "No child below 14 years of age shall be employed by any employer, except where the child works directly under the sole responsibility of his parent or guardian, involving activities which are not hazardous in nature and which do not in any way interfere with his schooling." Clearly, this has reference to our desire to protect the child's schooling opportunities. A noted Filipino woman lawyer, when asked as to what is being done to improve conditions under which Filipino children work replied that: "Children under 15 should live their childhood and leave the breadwinning to their parents. Youth comes but once in a lifetime. They should be in school learning the 3 R's and acquiring vocational expertise and time will come when their diplomas can take care of better

employment opportunities and better bargaining power for them..."[3] If children either do not or cannot go to school for one reason or another and they are not allowed to work legally till the age of 15, what will they do and what do they do?

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

As of 1970, there were 5.4 million youths aged 10-19 in the rural areas, broken down as follows: Employed, 27 percent; studying, 13 percent; housekeeping, 20 percent; unemployed, 4 percent; looking for work for the first time, 3 percent; others, not yet able to work or working at home without pay, not on farm or enterprise, 33 percent. Of those who are employed, 69 percent are unpaid family workers and of those who are housekeeping, 85 percent are females. This is the aggregate picture of rural youth at the national level. Obviously only a small minority, 13 percent, are in school in spite of all our educational innovations.

The purpose of these three case studies is to provide us insights on the dynamics and realities of their life in the village. We wanted to know about rural youth of high school age given a Barrio High School,

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[3] Manila Chronicle, Should Child Labor be Abolished?, June 22, 1972, p. 13.

a Barrio Development School or a 2-2 Plan curriculum operating within the socio-economic environment of a particular community. More specifically, we examined:

(1) In-school and out-of-school youths' education, employment, exposure to the outside world, geographic mobility, migration propensity, educational and occupational aspirations, perceived life chances compared to urban youths.

(2) Parents' aspirations and perceived opportunities for their children.

(3) Response of youth, parents, teachers and community leaders to the particular school system in their community.

(4) The fate of the graduates themselves.

This study is not an analysis of the school per se but of its impact on the students, the teachers, the graduates, the parents and the community. It is important to put the school curriculum within the context of the village because all too frequently, we endow it with more power than it probably deserves.

THE SETTING

The three villages chosen for the case studies are:

(1) Masaya, Bay, Laguna which has both a Barrio High School and the Pilot Barrio Development School.

(2) Malipo, Guinobatan, Albay which has a Barrio High School; and

(3) Lucban, Quezon which has the Lucban National High School.

A brief description of each community is presented here to provide meaning to the observations which will be made later.

Masaya, Bay, Laguna

Barrio Masaya of Bay, Laguna is about eight kilometers northeast of the University of the Philippines at Los Baños, two kilometers from the town proper of Bay, and a total of 70 kilometers from Manila. The barrio can be reached either by railroad by taking two rides by trolley or by provincial road taking three jeepney rides. Masaya has a population of 1,663 in 285 households. It has a land area of 410 hectares, planted mainly to sugarcane, rice and coconuts. There is an elementary school, a barrio high school and a barrio development school, a chapel, a non-functional railroad station and several sari-sari and small snack stores. The barrio is occasionally served by the Department of Local Government and Community Development and the Bureau of Agricultural Extension. The Comprehensive Community Health Program of the University of the Philippines maintains a health center. As of 1970, the community reported 150 houses with water-sealed toilets; 18 public and 60 private pump wells and 40 houses had blind drainage.

TV antennas could be seen on rooftops of many houses; radios are common and printed media like comics, magazines and newspapers are also available. Like any other barrio, it has a village composed of a Barangay Captain (village head) and six Councilmen, each of whom heads the following committees: Peace and Order, Public Works, Finance and Appropriations, Education, Health and Sanitation, and Social Welfare.

Malipo, Guinobatan, Albay

Malipo, which is composed of the barrio proper and six sitios, is located in the highlands of Albay, about 14 kilometers from the town of Guinobatan. It can be reached by bus which leaves town six to eight times a day but often roads are so bad that trips are reduced to four a day. Access to the sitios is mainly by undefined trails and one has to climb tall and slippery mountains. The landscape is made up of coconut groves intercropped with abaca, upland crops and/or bananas which stretch beyond the upper reaches of the mountain. Patches of kaingin (slash and burn) could be noted here and there.

As of 1972 there were 246 households with a population of 1,494 with houses concentrated along the highway although some are along the stream or at the top of the mountain.

The centers of social and economic life of the village are the school site and crossroads where local trading takes place. The com-

munity's source of pride is the barrio high school and a running water system but there is no electricity. While coconut and abaca are the major sources of income, some farmers also earned their livelihood from upland (kaingin) and lowland rice farms. The latter, however, are not in the village itself but in the neighboring villages. Youths and housewives are engaged in native crafts like making bags, baskets, placemats and slippers from abaca. Raw materials come from their own abaca plants, from local suppliers and town-dwelling handicraft dealers. Although abaca craft is a common activity, a fast worker could earn only ₱3.00 to ₱4.00 a day. Abaca production in the area is traditional and fibers are of poor quality and command a low price. There is a need for abaca technology but only a few landlords have expressed an interest in improving abaca production. It should be noted that Albay can be reached by plane from Manila or by overnight train, hence it is not within commuting distance to Greater Manila Area.

Lucban, Quezon

Lucban is one of the towns in the province of Quezon located at the foot of Mt. Banahaw. It has an elevation of 2,000 feet hence the climate is cool throughout the year. From Manila, it is about 120 kilometers, and 24 kilometers from Lucena City, the nearest city. The

town has a total of 26 barrios, 22 of which are scarcely populated and are mostly farmlands. The 1970 census reports a population of 23,700. The pattern of living is such that people reside in the 4 barrios of the poblacion, while their farms are in the other 22. Coconuts (the main crop) are planted in 3,691 hectares while the area devoted to rice farming is 1,545 hectares. When it is off-season for rice-growing, farmers plant vegetables along the mountainside. In addition to farming, family income is augmented by the presence of cottage industries most of which are financed by the NACIDA (National Cottage Industries Development Administration). Many are engaged in the weaving and processing of buntal and buri hats, mats, and bags; furniture-making; woodcraft and food manufacturing. The raw materials for these cottage industries are locally available. Buri and buntal fibers come from the forest areas at the foot of Mt. Banahaw. The same is true with the lumber needed for furniture-making and woodcraft. Many housewives earn additional income in their homes by making native delicacies like sausages, pastries, rice cakes which are sold in the local market and in Lucena City.

Lucban is a full-blown town which has three divisions of the elementary school; the Lucban Academy, a private academic secondary school besides the Lucban National High School and the Lucban Community College which uses the facilities of the high school. There is a market center,

moviehouse, church, municipal hall, and several grocery and dry goods stores.

The town is benefited by the services of different government agencies such as rural health, local government and community development, family planning, agricultural extension, even specialized health services such as tuberculosis, leprosy, and skin clinics, malaria eradication, and maternal and child health clinic. Lucban is highly accessible from other places by bus. Within the town itself, there are good roads hence tricycles and jeepneys are used for short-distance travel. Link to the outside world is through a telegraph station, a post office, and one radio-transmitter-receiver. All the metropolitan newspapers reach the town daily. Many homes have radios and a few have television sets. Electricity is available day and night.

THE RESPONDENTS

Table 1 shows the different groups of respondents for the three case studies. All the in-school youths enrolled in the Barrio High School and the Pilot Barrio Development School in Masaya and all those enrolled in the Barrio High School in Malipo were interviewed. Because the Lucban National High School has such a large enrollment, only the fourth year students were included. The choice of out-of-school youth respondents was done by purposive sampling. Every other household was

Table 1. The respondents.

Respondent Group	Lucban	Masaya	Malipo
In-school youths	287	182	86
Percent male	(47)	(58)	(54)
Out-of-school youths	166	100	194
Percent male	(48)	(62)	(60)
Parents	325	186	221
Principal/Teachers	48	12	19
Community leaders	13	14	7
T o t a l	839	494	527

was approached for potential respondents. Either the father or the mother of the youth respondent was also interviewed, Table 2. Because the responses showed no systematic differences between male-female and father-mother respondents, in the analysis, they are lumped together in terms of in-school and out-of-school youths and as parents.

Table 2. The parent-respondents.

Classification of Parents	Lucban		Masaya		Malipo	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
A. Parent of in-school youth	107	33	113	61	51	23
Parent of out-of-school youth	100	31	40	22	139	63
Parents of both	118	36	33	17	31	14
Total	325	100	186	100	221	100
B. Father	55	17	97	52	133	60
Mother	270	83	86	46	86	39
Guardian	a	-	3	2	2	1
Total	325	100	186	100	221	100

[a]Less than 1 percent.

THE FINDINGS

In-School and Out-of-School Youths

1. A Profile

On the average, the rural youths included in the three case studies were 16 years old with those out-of-school being almost a year

older. More than two-thirds of the OSY in Masaya and Malipo have finished Grade VI and have had some high school. In Lucban, the proportion of OSY with this level of education is much higher (85 percent). They have been out-of-school for more than three years. As far as academic performance in school is concerned, the ISY obtained much better grades than the OSY. It should be noted that even the ISY had dropped out of school at some point in their schooling. About one-third to one-half of them had done so. Financial difficulty was the major reason cited for dropping out, followed by lack of interest in studying and parents' need for their help. Except in Masaya, lack of interest in studying seemed to occur to an equal extent among the ISY and OSY in Lucban and Malipo. Poor health is also a factor mentioned, Table 3. Perhaps these two aspects of the educational situation deserve more attention than what they have been receiving. In recent years, the psychological components of schooling have taken a back seat because we are overwhelmed by the economics and structure of education. It is a fact that some children do not like going to school. Should we take steps to stimulate their interest or develop programs to suit their "non-interest" in school? With the dramatic findings on the relation between nutrition and mental development, the focus on health and schooling will probably increase.

While they were out-of-school, their time was spent mostly on

Table 3. Profile of in-school (ISY) and out-of-school youths (OSY).

	Lucban		Masaya		Malipo	
	ISY	OSY	ISY	OSY	ISY	OSY
N =	287	166	102	100	86	194
1. Average age in years	16.3	16.7	16.4	17.1	15.1	16.1
2. Ave. no. of children in family	6.7	7.3	6.5	6.5	7.5	7.6
3. Level of educ. of OSY			- Percent -			
1 - 5 years		15		35		33
6 - or elementary graduate		43		37		46
First to 4th yr.		42		28		21
4. Years out of school						
1 - 3 years		38		42		62
4 - 6		36		37		)
7 - 9		9		17		) 38
10 or more		17		4		)
5. Gen. ave. in last grade completed						
Don't remember	12	4	8	12	6	5
Below 75	-	-	-	1	-	-
75 - 79	24	73	42	53	23	60
80 - 84	61	18	45	32	53	28
85 - 89	3	5	5	2	1	-
Very satisfactory	-	-	-	-	4	-
Satisfactory	-	-	-	-	13	6
6. Drop-out history of ISY						
School drop-out at some period	33		53		41	
Never dropped out	67		47		59	
7. Reasons for dropping out						
Financial difficulty	66	38	71	57	48	79
Help needed by parents	-	13	13	8	23	5
Not interested to pursue studies	29	27	10	29	14	11
Poor health	3	14	3	3	14	3
Friends' influence	2	4	-	1	-	-
Lived in other places	-	4	3	2	-	-
No response	-	-	-	-	-	2

helping in the farm and in the household chores. Factory work is an alternative limited to Lucban youths because there are no factories in the two other places. A few underwent vocational training but again this was in Lucban where such training is available. Some of the ISY spent the time looking for a job. Failing in that, they went back to school. A few occupied themselves by socializing with friends and "doing nothing", Table 4.

For those who returned to school, the most important rationale was the conviction that they will not succeed or have a bright future unless they have more education which is associated with ease in finding better jobs. However, education as a consumption good is evident in the statement that they want to have higher education so they will not be fooled or abused. An unschooled person is vulnerable to this abuse. To some respondents, desire to keep up with friends is a motivation for returning to school.

2. Out-of-School Youths' Work Activities

For those who remained out of school, more than one-half in Masaya, three-fourth in Lucban and more than four-fifth in Malipo had no gainful employment. Those who had paying jobs were working as farm and non-farm hired labor; farmers, domestic help, factory work, selling and odd kinds of skilled jobs. More than 80 percent of them work

Table 4. Activities of ISY and OSY while out-of-school.

	Lucban		Masaya		Malipo	
	ISY	OSY	ISY	OSY	ISY	OSY
	- Percent -					
1. Helped on the farm	41	18	30	30	77	82
2. Helped in the house	3	23	30	25		
3. Worked as farm laborer	-	-	18	18	-	-
4. Farmed	-	-	13	13	-	-
5. Worked in the factory	15	25	-	-	-	-
6. Worked as hired labor	-	12	-	-	17	17
7. Peddled	3	3	1	8	-	-
8. Household help	-	10	-	-	-	-
9. Worked in an office	6	-	-	-	-	-
10. Did some sewing	-	-	3	2	-	-
11. Raised animals, did carpentry/ fished	-	-	2	-	-	-
12. Underwent vocational training	9	4	-	1	-	-
13. Looked for job	15	-	-	-	3	-
14. Socialized with friends	-	5	3	3	-	-
15. Did nothing	8	-	-	-	3	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

within the village, the town or neighboring villages. More than 10 percent ventured into other towns and cities. Although parents and relatives still play an important role in jobs placement, almost half of the OSY found work on their own. Although earnings were quite low with one-half to 90 percent of them receiving only P100 or less per month, there is an inverse relationship between

pay received and degree of satisfaction with the job. Malipo youths who earned least were most satisfied, Table 5. Reasons for their satisfaction were: Having a job even with small pay is better than none at all; no other job available and what they have suits their low qualifications; the job is easy; and they can help their parents. Predictably the reason for dissatisfaction within each community was mainly the low pay. In Malipo where incomes are low, the reference point for judging their situation is also low and easier to satisfy.

In Lucban, 81 percent of those who had no paying job thought it was possible for them to get some kind of skilled job as factory worker, dressmaker-tailor, household help, etc. Only 2 mentioned farming. Since most of the families are engaged in farming, children seldom regard it as source of paid employment for they usually participate as unpaid family labor. Those who think they could not find work realize the difficulty in job hunting. Some point out their lack of training and education, while still others are not interested and feel no need to work. Almost half of them, however, have had work experience and training obtained in Lucban, Manila and other places. Training had lasted for 6 months or more. Of the three communities studied, Lucban offers the most opportunities for vocational training yet it has not really meant greater ease in finding jobs. Although there are several cottage industries and small scale factories,

Table 5. Occupational activities of out-of-school youth.

	Lucban N = 166	Masaya N = 100	Malipo N = 194
	- Percent -		
A. Employment Status			
Employed	21	44	13
Unemployed or not working for pay	79	56	87
Total	100	100	100
B. Type of Work for Pay			
1. Farmer (and abaca stripper for Malipo)	10	26	20
2. Farm laborer	-	43	-
3. Hired labor	49	-	-
4. Factory worker	26	-	-
5. Domestic help	3	3	20
6. Selling (peddler/salesgirl)	3	11	28
7. Dressmaker/Tailor	3	-	4
8. Home Industry	3	7	4
9. Others (driver, carpenter, waitress, attendant, clerk, acolyte)	3	10	24
Total	100	100	100
C. Place of Work			
In the barrio	-	59	32
In town	82	-	48
In neighboring barrio	-	26	4
In neighboring town	6	-	4
Other towns and cities	12	15	12
Total	100	100	100

Table 5. (Continued)

	Lucban N = 166	Masaya N = 100	Malipo N = 194
	- Percent -		
D. How Job Was Obtained			
Aid of parents and relatives	36	55	44
Own farm/business	4	-	24
Looked for job themselves	43	45	12
Recruited by employer	17	-	16
Asked those who had abaca job	-	-	4
Total	100	100	100
E. Income Per Month			
No cash income	-	10	12
P100 and below	52	42	80
P101 - P200	44	26	4
P201 and above	4	22	4
Total	100	100	100
F. Satisfaction With Work			
Satisfied	56	68	80
Not satisfied	44	32	20
Total	100	100	100

they are not sufficient to absorb the youths. Paid farm work does not appear to be as much of an alternative in Lucban as it is among Masaya youths who are more inclined toward farm labor because it brings cash wages both in sugar, coconut and rice farming.

3. Educational and Occupational Aspirations of Rural Youth

Going to college is the great dream of majority of the youths although as expected, the ISY wanted this more than the OSY. The Masaya OSY, however, had the least desire for college. They were not interested and were more concerned with vocational training. In general, the parents were more enthused about their children's going to college than the OSY were, Table 6. In general, Masaya youths, even their ISY, were less attracted to college than the Lucban and Malipo youths. A further evidence of their different inclinations is shown in the fact that when asked what they would do if unable to continue their studies, 55 percent of Masaya OSY said they would farm and 20 percent of the ISY have the same plan. On the other hand, when the Malipo OSY were asked about their desire to go back to school, 63 percent said "Yes". Again, finishing high school or college is associated with being able to find a better, more stable and easier job. The main reasons given by those who would not want to return to school were: lack of interest, poor performance in class, too old to study and no money to support schooling. Of those who expressed a desire to go back to school, only 58 percent expect to do so mainly because their parents already have the money and some of them plan to work to support themselves. Those who expect to go to college mostly plan to take agriculture and teaching (both courses are offered in

Table 6. Educational aspiration of rural youth and their parents.

Educational Aspiration	Lucban				Masaya				Malipo			
	ISY (N=287)	OSY (N=166)	Total (N=453)	Parents (N=325)	ISY (N=182)	OSY (N=100)	Total (N=282)	Parents (N=186)	ISY (N=86)	OSY (N=194)	Total (N=280)	Parents (N=221)
						Percent						
Below elementary	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	6	-
Elementary graduates	-	22	12	6	-	1	a	1	-	11	8	3
Vocational	12	1	13	3	33	34	33	9	23	9	14	-
High school	7	26	15	5	-	7	3	-	6	30	23	40
College	75	41	54	68	57	26	46	75	70	40	49	51
Can't tell/not sure	3	5	3	17	-	-	-	-	1	-	a	-
Not interested	3	5	3	1	-	32	12	-	-	-	-	-
Elementary and HS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
High school and college	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
High school and vocational	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-
Whatever they like	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9	-	-	-	-
No opinion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
No response	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Either college or vocational	-	-	-	-	10	-	6	-	-	-	-	-

[a]Less than 1 percent.

the Bicol University in town). They also think that there is a demand for graduates in these fields. In case they fail to realize their school ambitions, only 9 percent will go into farming, 32 percent will find any job or learn a vocation, 15 percent will engage in selling or domestic help. There is a need again to distinguish those who dropped out because they had to and those who did so because studying is not their "cup of tea". Doing something out of school is, therefore, a first preference for the latter.

On parents' educational plan for their OSY children, the difference between Masaya and Malipo again stands out. Sixty-five percent of Malipo parents plan to send their OSY children back to school while only 23 percent of those from Masaya have the same intention.

Although Masaya youths expressed a greater desire for farming than those from Lucban or Malipo, farming is not really preferred. It is something one turns to when a first choice fails to materialize. The status of farming in the eyes of the youths becomes even more curious when one looks at Table 7, which shows that Lucban OSY have thought of farming as an occupation but only half of them considered it equal to other occupations in terms of opportunities it offers. Among the Masaya ISY, the reaction is the opposite. Although only half of them thought of it as an occupation, 96 percent considered farming equal to other occupations. Among the Malipo youths, two-thirds thought of

Table 7. Reactions towards farming.

Reactions	Lucban	Maseya		Malipo		
	OSY (N=166)	ISY (N=115)	OSY (N=100)	ISY (N=86)	OSY (N=194)	Total (N=280)
	- Percent -					
Have thought of farming as an occupation						
Yes	96	52	-	67	65	66
No	4	48	-	32	35	34
No response	-	-	-	1	-	-
Opportunities or chances in farming compared with other occupations						
Equal	54	96	95	47	53	51
Not equal	46	4	5	53	36	41
No response	-	-	-	-	11	8

farming as an occupation but only half regarded it as equal to other occupations. Possible explanations to this positive attitude yet rather ambivalent feelings about farming may be gleaned from Table 8. Their reasons for saying that farming offers as much opportunity as other occupations have a strong flavor of *if's* and *could* rather than definite positive statements on its merits. For example, "*if* you're lucky, income is good"; *if* one is industrious,

Table 8. Reasons for thinking that farming gives as much opportunity as other occupations.

Lucban		Masaya		Malipo	
Reasons for saying Yes:	Percent		Percent		Percent
1. If you're lucky, income is good.	25	1. A farmer could become prosperous.	52	1. Can also earn money and provide necessities in life.	86
2. If scientifically done, farming is profitable.	12	2. A farmer could support his family.	29	2. Similar input as other occupations.	2
3. If one is industrious, farming will provide adequate income.	19	3. Farmers' produce is universal need.	14	3. Farming is important to the nation.	2
4. If one owns a piece of land.	9	4. Farmer could send children to school.	4	4. No response	10
5. It is an occupation that pays adequately.	19	5. Farmer could save and pay his debt.	1		
6. If no natural calamities occur.	5				
7. It is the common occupation.	1				
8. Prices of farm products are high.	7				
9. Does not know.	2				
10. Due to gov't. programs such as Land Reform, Masagana 99.	1				
Reasons for saying No:		1. Don't know of any prosperous farmer.		1. No stable income from farming.	
		2. One needs to own farm lands to earn more.		2. It is hard work.	
		3. There are more progressive professionals than farmers.		3. Risk involved.	
		4. In farming, one needs to work hard unlike other occupations where one just sits.		4. No chance to go to other places. It ties you down.	
		5. Farmer needs luck.			
		6. Farmers have lower education.			

farming will provide adequate income"; "a farmer could become prosperous"; "one can also earn money and provide the necessities of life". The conditional tone of the response makes farming a good potential if other things were all right. The element of risk and uncertainty is evident in the reasons. The negative features of farming which gives it a negative rating among youths are the lack of stable income, hard physical work involved, need to have land, and the risks of crop failure due to pest and weather. For the Malipo youths, their aversion to hard work and difficult physical exertion deterred them from thinking of farming as an occupation. The major programs of government on agricultural development do not seem to have made an impact on these rural youths.

To the technocrats and educational planners, the problem of educated unemployment is a serious one. Are the youths and their parents as aware of this problem as educated people are? Table 9 shows that the Lucban respondents are not only aware of the problem, they also know about the oversupply of graduates relative to available jobs. However, many of them laid the blame on the unemployed graduates who they think were lazy to look for jobs; they lacked the necessary eligibilities and were choosy in their jobs. They likewise think that inability to find jobs is due to lack of support from influential persons. The Masaya respondents are not as knowledgeable as those from Lucban but neverthe-

Table 9. Awareness of successful non-degree holders and unemployed college graduates.

Awareness	Lucban				Masaya				Malipo			
	ISY (N=287)	OSY (N=166)	Total (N=453)	Parents (N=325)	ISY (N=182)	OSY (N=100)	Total (N=282)	Parents (N=186)	ISY (N=86)	OSY (N=194)	Total (N=280)	Parents (N=221)
	- Percent -											
Of successful non-degree holders												
Aware	98	84	93	98	75	71	73	77	44	36	38	42
Not aware	2	16	7	2	25	29	27	23	56	63	61	58
No response	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-
Of unemployed college graduates												
Aware	84	-	84	98	70	65	68	77	55	34	40	40
Not aware	16	-	16	2	30	35	32	23	45	65	58	60
No response	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-

less they are far from being naive about the excess of graduates over available jobs. It is interesting though, that the Masaya ISY emphasized more their personal failings such as not having the necessary qualifications and not being patient in job-hunting.

The Malipo youths and parents were least aware of the problem. About 60 percent were unaware of the problem of graduate unemployment. Those who know about it blamed the problem mainly on the graduates themselves. They were thought to be lazy, lacking in interest, initiative, ambition and some did not even want to work because the family has stable income. Only 21 percent of the youths and 15 percent of the parents mentioned oversupply of graduates. On the other "side of the coin" which is success in life even without college education, the patterns of awareness in the three communities are the same as that for graduate unemployment. Their reasons cited for the success of non-college graduates are: possession of personal virtues such as being patient, hardworking, industrious, resourceful; success in farming and business; good luck and inheritance of wealth from their parents. There was no perception of non-college training as a factor in their success.

Although there is such an attraction to college education because it is regarded as the way to a better job and a better future, occupational aspirations are only minimally professional but mainly skilled and unskilled work. The only group that aspired predominantly for

professional jobs was the Malipo ISY. In general, more parents than youths were aspiring for professional jobs for their children and the Malipo parents were most ambitious of all. However, as far as income aspiration is concerned, they exhibited the lowest, followed by Masaya, and Lucban aspired for the highest income. The Malipo respondents' only frame of reference for their income aspirations for professionals' salaries is the school teacher. On the other hand, Lucban OSY have cited very high salary figures although they were aiming at skilled and non-professional jobs, Table 10.

4. Satisfaction with Youths' Life and Perceived Alternatives for Them

It has often been said that dissatisfaction with one's situation goads a man to look for other alternatives. Table 11 shows that the Lucban youths were the most dissatisfied with their way of life, followed by those of Malipo. The parents of the latter were as dissatisfied as their children while in the case of Lucban, there were more youths (75 percent) than parents (35 percent) who were unhappy with the life of their youth. Although Masaya parents (87 percent) were satisfied, and only 79 percent of their children felt the same, Masaya emerged the most satisfied community, with ISY showing an even higher proportion than the OSY who are satisfied. These trends are quite intriguing because Lucban is really a bustling town while Masaya

Table 10. Occupational aspiration of rural youth.

Occupational Aspiration	Lucban				Masaya				Malipo	
	ISY (N=287)	OSY (N=166)	Total (N=453)	Parents (N=325)	ISY (N=182)	OSY (N=100)	Total (N=282)	Parents (N=186)	ISY (N=86)	Parents (N=221)
	- Percent -									
Job aspiration										
Unskilled	10	10	10	4	29	21	26	39	-	14
Skilled/non-professional	80	81	80	3	59	65	61	45	23	34
Highly skilled/professional	10	9	10	30	7	3	6	10	75	43
Any job/no specific preference	-	-	-	63	5	11	7	6	2	9
Income aspiration										
₱100 and below/month	11	1	6	-	14	12	14)	41	5	7
₱101 - ₱300	38	3	21	-	44	53	48)		50	15
₱301 - ₱500	15	15	15	-	25	15	21)	43	26	33
₱501 - ₱700	8	5	6	-	4	6	4)		3	18
₱701 - ₱900	7	2	4	-	2	2	2)	16	-	12
₱901 and above	14	65	40	-	6	1	4)		-	a
No income given	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14
No idea	-	-	-	-	5	11	7	-	5	-
No response	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	-
Whatever is commensurate to my work	7	9	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

[a]Less than one percent.

Table 11. Parents' and youths' satisfaction with the youths' life.

Satisfaction with the Youths' Way of Life	Lucban				Magsaysay				Malipo			
	ISY (N-287)	OSY (N-166)	Total (N-453)	Parents (N-325)	ISY (N-182)	OSY (N-100)	Total (N-282)	Parents (N-186)	ISY (N-86)	OSY (N-194)	Total (N-280)	Parents (N-221)
	- Percent -											
Satisfied	16	35	25	65	82	74	79	87	34	27	29	36
Not satisfied	84	65	75	35	18	26	21	13	66	68	67	64
Not sure	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	4	-

is a quiet farming community and Malipo looks like a village at the end of the world. Therefore, one might expect greater satisfaction among the Lucban youths but such is not the case. The dissatisfaction among Malipo respondents may easily be explained by their lack of the "good things in life" in an absolute sense while that of Lucban is deprivation in a relative sense. Their aspirations are beyond what the community can offer as particularly evident in the higher proportion of ISY (84 percent) than OSY (65 percent) who are not satisfied with their life. Masayn, on the other hand, seems to have a balance of what they want and what life offers. When asked why they were not satisfied with life, the lack of a stable job or source of income and their as yet unfinished studies were cited as the major reasons. Among those who are satisfied, they feel no problems or worries; parents could provide for their basic needs or at least give them something to begin with. Others are happy to help parents in earning a living and they are satisfied with the care and love they receive at home.

Those who were dissatisfied were asked what alternatives they perceive for improving the life of rural youths. The responses to this question are very revealing when related to previous answers. None of the Lucban parents thought of studying as an alternative, Table 12. Instead, half of them mentioned farming. If we look at Table 9,

Table 12. Perceived alternatives of the youths and of the parents for their children.

Perceived Alternatives	Lucban				Masaya				Malipo			
	ISY (N=241)	OSY (N=108)	Total (N=349)	Parents (N=113)	ISY (N=33)	OSY (N=26)	Total (N=59)	Parents (N=23)	ISY (N=57)	OSY (N=132)	Total (N=189)	Parents (N=80)
	- Percent -											
Working	18	31	27	47	33	50	41	13	7	18	7	4
Studying	56	-	19	-	61	27	46	52	72	54	60	63
Farming	5	20	15	49	3	-	2	9	4	5	5	1
Learning a vocation	-	23	16	4	-	8	3	9	4	12	12	22
Business	14	18	15	-	-	12	5	4	2	4	4	-
Others	6	2	5	-	-	-	-	-	7	5	6	5
Does not know/no idea	1	6	3	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	4	4
Studying and working or business	-	-	-	-	3	3	3	13	2	-	2	1

perhaps we have an explanation for their choice. Ninety-eight percent of these parents are aware of college graduates who are unemployed and that jobs are scarce for there are already too many college graduates. Furthermore, 98 percent of them are also aware of people in the community who have made good although they have not gone to the university. By contrast, 65 percent of Malipo parents regard studying as the alternative for their children. Again, on Table 12 we can see that only 40 percent of them are aware of unemployed college graduates and this was attributed to faults of the graduate himself rather than to the supply and demand situation. Unlike the Lucban parents, only 42 percent of them are aware of people who have made good even without college education.

The alternative perceived by the Masaya parents who are dissatisfied with their children's life (only 13 percent of them) is studying. Only 9 percent of them thought of farming. As expected, more of the ISY than the OSY in the three communities regard studying as their alternative. Only 15 percent of the dissatisfied Lucban youths, 2 percent of those in Masaya, and 5 percent of those in Malipo considered farming as a way of improving their present life.

What is the youth's definition of a good life? Table 13 shows that economic stability means a good life to half of the youths in the three communities. This is followed by "a peaceful, pleasant, happy life"

Table 13. Perception of a "good life."

Perception of a "Good Life"	Lucban			Masaya			Malipo		
	ISY (N=287)	OSY (N=166)	Total (N=453)	ISY (N=182)	OSY (N=100)	Total (N=282)	ISY (N=86)	OSY (N=194)	Total (N=280)
				- Percent -					
Economic stability	37	49	43	60	48	56	50	56	56
Educational achievement	12	3	10	-	-	-	25	10	14
Possession of certain virtues	2	13	7	9	9	9	5	7	4
Life style	2	6	2	10	0	6	-	-	-
Living a peaceful, happy and harmonious life	45	23	38	13	22	18	14	21	19
Free from problems and/or sickness	2	3	a	2	15	6	-	-	-
No response	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	6	6
Combination of any two	-	3	-	3	6	5	-	-	1

[a]Less than 1 percent.

vaguely defined. Educational achievement per se was not mentioned by Masaya youths, while 10 percent of Lucban and 14 percent of Malipo youths regarded it as a good life with more of the ISY than the OSY in the latter group endorsing it.

5. Exposure to the Outside World, Perceived Life Chances and Migration Propensity

To determine youths' exposure to the world outside their community, a scale was devised utilizing frequency of media use (TV, radio, movies, and printed matter) and visits to other places as indicators. The latter considered not only the number of places visited but also whether the place is a village, a town, or a city. A total score was computed for each respondent on the basis of which degree of exposure was determined. A geographic mobility scale was also devised using number of times a person has moved from his place of birth and the radius of movement, whether within the municipality, the province; the region or outside. Tables 14 and 15 show very clearly that Lucban youths have the greatest exposure and were the most mobile; followed by Masaya. Malipo youths have very low exposure and mobility.

Comparing their state of livelihood with youths in the village, in town and in Manila, the following observations may be made from Table 16:

Table 14. Youths' degree of exposure to the outside world.

Degree of Exposure	Lucban			Masaya			Malipo		
	ISY (N=287)	OSY (N=166)	Total (N=453)	ISY (N=182)	OSY (N=100)	Total (N=282)	ISY (N=86)	OSY (N=194)	Total (N=280)
				- Percent -					
Very low	1	4	3	1	25	10	91	92	92
Low	-	-	-	27	50	35	7	8	8
Moderate	28	30	28	63	25	50	-	-	-
High	58	62	59	9	-	5	-	-	-
Very high	13	4	10	-	-	-	-	-	-
No response	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-

Table 15. Geographic mobility of youths.

Degree of Mobility	Lucban			Masaya			Malipo		
	ISY (N=287)	OSY (N=166)	Total (N=453)	ISY (N=182)	OSY (N=100)	Total (N=282)	ISY (N=86)	OSY (N=194)	Total (N=280)
				- Percent -					
No mobility	-	2	a	72	82	76	86	85	85
Very low mobility	91	56	77	24	14	20	14	15	15
Low mobility	8	37	20	4	3	4	-	-	-
Moderate mobility	1	3	3	-	1	a	-	-	-
High mobility	-	2	a	-	-	-	-	-	-

[a]Less than 1 percent.

Table 16. Present state of livelihood of youths compared with youths in the village, town and Manila.

Youth's State of Livelihood Compared with Other Youths	Lucban			Masaya			Malipo		
	ISY (N=287)	OSY (N=166)	Total (N=453)	ISY (N=182)	OSY (N=100	Total (N=282)	ISY (N=86)	OSY (N=194)	Total (N=280)
				- Percent -					
In the village									
Same	31	61	43	58	51	56	75	68	70
Better	53	17	40	13	16	14	12	a	4
Worse	16	22	17	26	33	28	-	7	5
No idea/can't tell	-	-	-	2	-	2	13	23	20
No response	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1
In town									
Same	58	42	51	17	18	17	50	46	48
Better	25	6	20	20	24	22	12	7	8
Worse	17	52	29	39	58	46	22	20	20
No idea	-	-	-	24	-	15	16	22	20
No response	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	4
In Manila									
Same	14	10	12	7	11	9	30	35	34
Better	32	10	24	26	36	29	5	4	5
Worse	54	80	64	42	53	46	32	25	27
No idea	-	-	-	25	-	16	33	34	33
No response	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1

[a]Less than 1 percent.

(1) The more urbanized the place of comparison, the more worse-off the youths felt, such that they felt most deprived relative to their colleagues in Manila. The greatest deprivation was expressed by the youths from Lucban.

(2) More of the ISY than the OSY from Lucban and Malipo assessed their livelihood as better compared to the youths of the same village, in town and in Manila. But the feeling of progressively being worse-off is more pronounced among the OSY than the ISY in the three communities.

(3) The Malipo youths showed the highest proportion who had no idea about the state of livelihood of youths in other places.

(4) The perception of equality with other youths is most pronounced among Malipo youths but for the three groups, this sense of equality diminishes as the place of comparison becomes more urban. They perceived the least equality with youths in Manila.

Among the reasons cited for their perceptions of being the same, better-off or worse-off than other youths are:

(1) The perception of equality arises from their both being either in-school or out-of-school compared to other youths and from their feeling that there is no difference in their way of life and source of livelihood.

(2) The ISY's feeling of being better-off stems from their being in-school compared to those who are not.

(3) Youths' perception of being better-off than those in town or in Manila is due to their feeling that life in the village is more peaceful; cost of living is lower; and the place is far from bad influences. Those in Lucban cited the presence of educational opportunities in their own town. Perception of Manila youths as being better-off is associated with the many job and educational opportunities they think exist in the city; the many places of amusement; the luxury and modernity of the place; better schools, transportation facilities and a generally better level of living in Manila than in their own village. Some even remarked that "living in Manila is a status symbol."

When asked to assess their life chances compared to youths in the village, in town and in Manila, the pattern of responses is basically the same, Table 17, as the pattern showed in their perception of their state of livelihood with Lucban youths exhibiting the most deprivation and the Malipo youths being most naive about the life chances of other youths.

For further insights into rural youths' favorable assessment of urban youths' livelihood and life chances, they were asked to compare

Table 17. Life chances of youths compared with other youths in the village, in town and in Manila.

Youths Life Chances Compared with Other Youths	Lucban			Masaya			Malipo		
	ISY (N=287)	OSY (N=166)	Total (N=453)	ISY (N=182)	OSY (N=100)	Total (N=282)	ISY (N=86)	OSY (N=194)	Total (N=280)
				- Percent -					
In the village									
Same	19	49	30	32	39	35	70	51	57
Better	75	16	53	45	27	39	16	11	13
Worse	6	35	17	17	34	23	-	6	4
No idea	-	-	-	6	-	3	14	30	25
No response	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1
In town									
Same	55	32	47	26	19	23	40	48	46
Better	36	2	24	29	33	31	16	15	15
Worse	9	60	29	26	48	34	28	16	20
No idea	-	-	-	19	-	12	16	21	19
In Manila									
Same	28	10	21	16	16	16	25	15	18
Better	22	10	17	32	38	34	8	12	11
Worse	50	80	62	28	46	34	37	21	28
No idea	-	-	-	24	-	16	30	50	42
No response	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1

their village to Manila as a place to live and as a place of work. Table 18 indicates that the attraction to Manila is a qualified one. Their village is still regarded as a better place to live in by more than 90 percent of the youths in Lucban and Masaya and 82 percent of those in Malipo. As a place of work, the village is considered as worse-off than Manila by about half of the Lucban and Malipo respondents. Again the worst assessment of their own village both as a place to live and as a place of work came from the Malipo youths. Surprisingly, 65 percent of Masaya youths thought their village was better than Manila as a place of work. This group has the most positive attitude toward their own community. The most frequently mentioned reasons for this were: the existence of occupational opportunities which match their low educational attainment; lower cost of living; familiarity with the place and being near loved ones. On their favorable attitude toward the village as a place to live, the explanations lie in more peaceful conditions; close relationship to neighbors, and relatives; abundant food, freedom from pollution, low cost of living and preference for barrio life. Manila as a preferred place of work is associated with ease in finding stable jobs; higher pay; active social life; and more vacancies.

Having expressed their perceptions of life in the village and life in the city, the youths were asked whether they desire to stay in the

Table 18. The village compared with Manila.

The Village Compared with Manila	Lucban			Masaya			Malipo		
	(N=287)	(N=166)	(N=453)	(N=182)	(N=100)	(N=282)	(N=86)	(N=194)	(N=280)
	- Percent -								
As a place to live									
Same	9	1	1	1	6	3	15	10	11
Better	91	91	91	93	90	92	72	86	82
Worse	7	8	8	6	4	5	8	3	5
No idea	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	1	2
As a place of work									
Same	7	8	7	5	5	5	15	23	20
Better	44	41	43	58	77	65	28	30	29
Worse	49	51	50	36	18	29	57	42	47
No idea	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	5	4

village the rest of their life or whether they have a desire to move to Manila. Consistent with their evaluation of conditions and life chances in the village and in Manila, the Masaya youths were least inclined to move to Manila and most desirous of staying in Masaya the rest of their life. More than half of Lucban and Malipo youths want to move to Manila. When the latter were asked what prevented them from actually migrating to Manila, the most important response of the OSY was that they do not have enough money for transportation and living allowances. For the ISY, the major reason was that they are still young and studying. Obviously, migration propensity is highest in the Malipo group although they have the least exposure to the outside world, the lowest mobility and were most naive about life in the city.

In general, desire to stay in the barrio is greater among the OSY than the ISY and conversely, the ISY had greater inclination to move to Manila than the OSY in all three villages, Table 19.

6. Factors Associated with Youths' Propensity to Migrate

To explain migration propensity or the desire to leave one's village and move to Manila, relationships among a number of factors were tested. The following were found to be significant: ISY have higher educational aspiration, higher income aspired for and higher

Table 19. Migration propensity of the youths.

Migration Propensity	Lucban			Masaya			Malipo		
	ISY (N=287)	OSY (N=166)	Total (N=453)	ISY (N=182)	OSY (N=100)	Total (N=282)	ISY (N=86)	OSY (N=194)	Total (N=280)
	- Percent -								
Desire to stay in the village the rest of his life									
Desires to stay	51	64	56	87	96	90	41	57	52
Does not desire to stay	49	36	44	11	4	9	57	38	43
Not sure	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	5	4
No response	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	a	1
Desire to move to Manila									
Desire to move	60	52	58	17	7	14	52	50	51
Does not desire to move	40	48	42	83	93	86	47	48	48
Not sure	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
No response	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	a
Migration propensity (Total)									
High	56	55	56	25	10	18	78	64	67
Low	44	45	44	75	90	82	22	34	32
Not sure	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1

[a] Less than 1 percent.

migration propensity than the OSY. Higher educational aspiration is associated with more exposure to the outside world, better academic performance, and perception of studying as the alternative to improve their life. The latter who defined the "good life" as economic stability and educational achievement have greater inclination to move out of their village. The ISY differed from the OSY in what they perceived as their alternative for a better life. The former chose studying; the latter chose working. The ISY tended to have friends among other ISY and the OSY's peer group were also other OSY. ISY's whose peers were other ISY had higher educational aspirations and had higher migration propensity.

More than any of these variables, however, what stands out in all the data analyzed are the striking differences in the responses from the three communities.

Rural Youths' Parents: Their Aspirations and Perceived Opportunities for Their Children

1. Parents' Profile

The three communities studied reported more children (6.5 to 7.6) per family than the national completed family size figure of 5.9. Malipo has the most children (7.6) and the youngest mothers (40.7 years) which could mean further additions before the end of the child-bearing

period, Table 20. In terms of education, the average schooling for fathers is five years except for Masaya where it is only four. Mothers' schooling is about one year lower than that of the fathers. Eighty-five percent of Malipo and eighty percent of Lucban fathers still reside within the municipality of their birth. On the other hand, 57 percent of those from Masaya came from outside the municipality, the province and the region. They are the most migratory of the three groups.

The occupations of the parents reflect the socio-economic conditions in their respective communities and predictably farming is the major occupation with Malipo reporting the highest proportion, 78 percent; followed by Masaya, 73 percent and Lucban, 65 percent. Lucban showed the highest proportion of skilled workers. Again, employment of the wives is dependent on opportunities in cottage industries which are available in Lucban and Malipo. It must be pointed out, however, that earnings from these handicraft activities do not amount to much because pay rates are also puny even if the work is tedious. Table 21 shows that majority of the families have a total income of less than ₱300 per month with Malipo reporting the lowest incomes and Masaya, the highest, despite the fact that Lucban parents have higher education and more skilled labor opportunities while Masaya has mostly farming and farm labor. Table 22 tells us tenure status and crops grown which partly

Table 20. Personal characteristics of parents.

	Lucban N=302		Masaya N=186		Malipo N=210	
A. Ave. Age in Years						
Father	47.3		47.5		45.2	
Mother	43.2		43.6		40.7	
B. Ave. No. of Children	7.0		6.5		7.6	
C. Education	Father N=302	Mother N=323	Father N=186	Mother N=177	Father N=215	Mother N=214
	- Percent -					
None	2	2	5	4	12	16
Caton or Kartilla	-	-	-	1	-	3
Grades 1 - 5	49	54	64	72	38	41
Elementary graduate	30	30	10	8	40	32
High school 1 - 3	9	7	10	2	5	5
High school graduate	3	3	-	-	3	1
College	4	2	1	1	-	-
No response or Don't remember	3	2	10	12	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
D. Place of Birth	- Percent -					
In the barrio	-		19		24	
Outside barrio but within municipality	80		24		61	
Outside municipality but within province	0		21		10	
Outside province) within region)	8		36		2	
Outside region)	3		-		2	
No response	-		-		1	
Total	100		100		100	

Table 21. Occupation of parents and total family income.

Occupation	Lucban		Masaya		Malipo	
	Household Head (N=302)	Wife (N=323)	Household Head (N=186)	Wife (N=177)	Household Head (N=210)	Wife (N=215)
	- Percent -					
Farmer	65	2	73	7	78	8
Unskilled (farm laborer, vendor/ storekeeper, laundry woman, janitor)	13	11	16	5	9	4
Skilled (driver, cook, tractor operator, carpenter, employee, bank teller, security guard, tailor, shoemaker, dressmaker)	20	1	7	1	8	1
Professional	2	1	2	1	1	-
Others (landowner, overseer, pension, gambling den operator)	-	-	2	2	1	-
Weaver of bags, mats, etc./dealer of crafts	-	55	-	-	-	16
Factory worker	-	1	-	-	-	-
Housekeeper	-	29	-	84	-	34
Businessman	-	-	-	-	3	3
Animal caretaker	-	-	-	-	-	32
No response	-	-	-	-	-	2

Total Monthly Family Income	Lucban	Masaya	Malipo
	- Percent -		
P300 and below	62	58	88
P301 - P700	32	28	10
P801 and above	6	14	2

Table 22. Tenure status of farmer-parents and crops grown by them.

Tenure Status	Masaya (N=103)	Malipo (N=168)
	- Percent -	
Owner	35	49
Lessee	29	-
Tenant	15	48
Combination of any two	21	1
Squatter	-	2
Crops Grown		
1. Rice	51	
2. Sugarcane	8	
3. Plantation crops such as bananas, coffee, lanzones, citrus, coconuts	11	
4. Rice + sugarcane	5	
5. Rice + plantation crops	24	
6. Sugarcane + plantation crops	1	
7. Coconut + abaca		26
8. Coconut + abaca + rice		22
9. Coconut + rice + corn		32
10. Coconut + corn		6
11. Coconut + rice		2
12. Corn + root crops		7
13. Abaca		2
14. No response		3

explains the higher income in Masaya. There is more diversity of crops which also make year-round employment possible. At the time of the study, the prices of rice, sugarcane, coconut, bananas, citrus, and coffee were all high. Incidentally, farm wages are also higher in Masaya than in Lucban and Malipo hence the earnings of children from farm labor contribute to family income at the same time that rice provides assurance of food. Rice lands are also irrigated, hence at least two crops a year can be grown. In other words, Masaya is a fortuitous combination of lowland and upland farming. On the other hand, Malipo is mainly upland mountain. Lucban is mainly coconut and some rice but it is also upland mountain for the most part. For all the three areas, farmlands being cultivated, whether owned, leased or tenanted are quite small.

2. Parental Perceptions and Aspirations

Given their total family income, parents were asked whether they thought this was adequate. Table 23 shows higher proportion reporting income adequacy among Masaya than Lucban or Malipo parents. Despite the fact that Malipo total incomes are the lowest, it is Lucban which had the highest proportion of parents who perceived inadequate income, 58 percent as against 39 percent in Malipo. The reasons for perceived adequacy are: ability to meet basic needs; absence of indebtedness;

Table 23. Parents' perceived adequacy of income.

Perceived Income Adequacy	Lucban (N=325)	Masaya (N=186)	Malipo (N=221)
	- Percent -		
Income adequate	42	66	60
Income inadequate	58	34	39
Not sure/sometimes	-	-	1

presence of more than one breadwinner; no feeling of shortage; and ability to send children to school. The rural family's capacity to survive with limited means is revealed in the Malipo parents' reply that they adjust their needs and desires to their incomes. Reasons for perceived income inadequacy centered on inability to satisfy basic needs, including food. Too many children was also cited as a factor. Lucban parents harped on high cost of living.

To find out the extent to which parents recognize the relationships between family size, income and their children's future, they were asked if life chances would be better if they had fewer children. Table 24 gives us positive indications that parents recognize these interrelationships. Lucban parents reasoned that with fewer children, there will be less expenses; more resources to meet their needs including

Table 24. Parents' perceptions of better life chances if they had fewer children.

Perceived Better Life Chances for Their Children	Lucban (N=325)	Masaya (N=185)	Malipo (N=221)
Yes	78	78	85
No	22	22	2
Not sure	-	-	13

schooling; there will be fewer problems and more time for the care and guidance of their children. To Masaya parents, fewer children meant better life chances because they can provide better education for their future. In Malipo, parents emphasized that with fewer children there will be fewer consumers of food, clothing, and school needs. More significant than these reasons are the parents' explanations for thinking that life chances will not be better even if they had fewer children. Of the 5 Malipo parents who said "No", three think that with fewer children earning a living, the family income will be lower. Two of them also very rightly pointed out that number of children does not matter because they have only one child and yet they are still unable to provide for his education. The 22 percent of Masaya parents who said "No" echoed this argument that having fewer children was not

an assurance of a better future for even those with only two children cannot afford adequate education for them. They likewise believe that no one has control over one's luck regarding family income and children's attitudes toward education and, therefore, no one could determine whether or not fewer children meant better life chances.

The extent to which parents have contact with the realities beyond their village may be gauged by the degree of their exposure to the outside world. As indicated in Table 25, Malipo parents, just like their children have the least exposure and Lucban parents have the most. Given their state of knowledge or ignorance about other places, parents in general, were quite happy to spend the rest of their life in the barrio although Lucban respondents were slightly less positive about it than the two other groups. Although the village appears to be good enough for themselves, the parents were less favorable toward it for their children with Masaya parents much more positive (86 percent) than those from Lucban (56 percent) and Malipo (47 percent).

The reasons for wanting to see their children live in the barrio the rest of their life were: the desire for physical and emotional closeness among children and between parents and their children; the need for children to receive parental care and guidance; and children can also have sufficient income in the village. The desire for better

Table 25. Parents' exposure to the outside world.

Degree of Exposure	Lucban (N=325)	Masaya (N=185)	Malipo (N=221)
		- Percent -	
Very low exposure	14	22	94
Low exposure	-	60	6
Moderate exposure	54	17	-
High exposure	32	1	-
Total	100	100	100

opportunities and other experiences elsewhere was the principal reason for not wanting them to live in the village forever, Table 26.

From Table 27, we can see that parents who view their barrio favorably tend to endorse it as a place for their children to study and work. The contrast between Lucban and Masaya is quite dramatic on this score. More Masaya than Lucban parents prefer their children to study and work in the barrio and conversely, more Lucban than Masaya parents prefer Manila or another city as a place of study and as a place to work.

Table 26. Parents' desire for their children and for themselves to live in the barrio the rest of their life.

	For Their Children			For Themselves		
	Lucban	Masaya	Malipo	Lucban	Masaya	Malipo
	- Percent -					
Desire it	56	86	47	88	96	95
Does not desire it	42	10	33	10	3	3
Not sure	-	4	15	-	1	2
No opinion	2	-	5	2	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 27. Parents' choice for children's place of study and place of work.

	Lucban	Masaya
	- Percent -	
Place of Study		
Barrio	-	61
Town	10	10
Nearby city	25	11
Manila	27	
No definite place stated	38	18
Total	100	100
Place of Work		
Barrio	5	56
Town	19	17
City	45	27
Either barrio, town or city	31	-
	100	100

3. The Reality or Fantasy Component of Parental Aspirations

Table 28 says that although parents' educational aspirations are oriented toward college, their occupational aspirations are more geared toward skilled rather than professional jobs. They are much more uncertain about what occupations to wish for. After all, there are definite paths or steps to take to obtain a college education but planning or employment is fraught with uncertainties. How many persons, for example, could predict what jobs they would be able to get? It is likewise evident from Table 29 that aspirations are more optimistic than expectations. Although 51 percent of Malipo parents aspire for college education for their children, only 16 percent expect that this will be achieved. More than half of them are not sure of what will happen. The youths themselves exhibit a gap between aspirations and expectations, Table 30. A similar phenomenon is illustrated in Table 31 where only about one-half to 60 percent of the parents expect their children to reach the level of education they aspired for them. This means that even those who wanted high school and vocational courses do not expect their dreams to be realized.

Table 28. Parents' educational and occupational aspirations for their children.

	Lucban (N=325)	Masaya (N=136)	Malipo (N=221)
	- Percent -		
Educational Aspiration			
Elementary	6	1	3
Vocational	-	9	-
High School	8	6	40
College	68	75	51
Cannot tell	18	9	6
Total	100	100	100
Occupational Aspiration			
Unskilled	4	40	9
Skilled	7	45	82
Highly skilled	28	15	19
Any job	61	-	-
Total	100	100	100

Table 29. Malipo parents' educational aspirations and expectations for their children.

N=221	Aspirations	Expectations
	- Percent -	
Elementary	3	3
High School	40	19
College	51	16
Combination of any two	4	4
No opinion	2	2
Not sure	-	56
Total	100	100

Table 30. Malipo youths' educational aspirations and expectations to go to college.

	Aspirations	Expectations
	- Percent -	
Yes	70	56
No	29	43
Not sure	1	1
Total	100	100

Table 31. Parents' expectation that their children will attain their educational aspirations.

Expectation	Lucban	Masaya (N=186)	Mal[illegible]
	- Percent -		
Expects their children to reach/ finish the level of education they aspired for them	58	61	49
Does not expect their children to reach/finish the level of education they aspired for them	42	39	46
Not sure	-	-	-
No opinion/no response	-	-	5
Total	100	100	100

The School as Perceived by Teachers, Students, Community Leaders, and Parents

1. The Schools in the Three Communities

The Lucban National High School (LNHS) is the only public nationally supported high school in the town of Lucban. It was established on July 1, 1972 when Republic Act 4345 was approved, merging the Lucban Municipal Junior High School and the School for Philippine Craftsman. The original Lucban Municipal Junior High School had an enrollment of 298 when it was established in 1964. As of 1974, it had 1,400 students and about four substantial buildings. The school adopted a 2-2 plan curriculum described earlier. Besides this, the school also offers a four-year Secondary Home Industries curriculum with specialization in various areas of home industries like ceramics, metal craft, basketry, loom weaving, and leathercraft. The school administration is free to select and decide other home industries to be offered, depending on demands and possibilities in the community. Three to ten-month courses on home industries are also available to out-of-school youths and employable adults. These are called "opportunity courses." Enrollment is open any time of the year. Trainees in these special courses provide materials for their own projects. A certificate of attendance or proficiency is

awarded to each trainee upon completion of each course.

Using the same teachers and facilities of the LNHS is the Lucban Community College (LCC) which is one of the two community colleges in the Philippines organized in 1968-69. It provides an opportunity for higher education for children of the poor who could not afford to send them elsewhere. It offers the first two-year courses leading to B.S. in Education; B.S. in Elementary Education; Pre-Nursing and B.S. in Business Administration. Out-of-school youths, farmers, factory and office workers and others who are interested in short vocational courses are also admitted. Offered for five to six months, these special vocational courses are hair science, tailoring, dressmaking, secretarial, stenography and coconut technology. The LCC derives its funds from tuition fees and from the budget appropriated by the municipal council of Lucban.

The teaching staff of the Lucban National High School and the Lucban Community College is composed of 46 classroom teachers, one principal, and one assistant principal, who are husband and wife. Half of the teachers are below 30 years old; two-thirds are females. Forty-six out of the 48 teachers have Bachelor's Degrees; the principal has an M.A. in Education and one has an elementary teacher's certificate. They have had an average of about 4 years teaching experience. In terms of tenure, 58 percent have permanent appointments; 27 percent,

provisional; 15 percent were substitutes. All, except two, reside in Lucban - and about 60 percent are natives of the town. Thirty percent come from within the province. Table 32 shows the salaries of the teachers. Those who teach college courses receive honorarium per hour of teaching.

The Masaya Barrio High School (BHS) was established in 1970 with 40 students and was on its 6th year of operation at the time of the study. Support comes mainly from the tuition fees of students. The enrollment then had increased to 134. Each student is charged an entrance fee of P20.00 and a monthly fee of P10.00. Any financial deficit is supposed to be shouldered by the Barrio Council which requested its establishment in the first place. The school "squats" on three rooms of the Masaya Elementary School which is made of hollow blocks, wood and galvanized iron roof. The walls between rooms are relatively thin so that voices in one room mingle with those in adjoining rooms. Lack of funds and facilities such as classroom, chairs, books, garden tools and laboratory equipment is a unanimous complaint. For lack of books and teaching materials, the teachers wrote lessons and assignments on the blackboard. The school has 3 part-time teachers who are also faculty members of the elementary school, and six full time ones. Two-thirds have Bachelor's degrees and the rest have M.A. or M.S. units and the same number have a permanent appointment. Practically

Table 32. Salary scale of the principal and teachers of the Lucban National High School in accordance with the WAPCO (Wage and Position Classification Office).

Position	Number	Salaries Per Month	
		1973-74	1974-date*
Principal	1	₱ 736.00	₱ 809.60
Assistant Principal	1	520.00	572.00**
Head and Industrial Training Supervisor	1	700.00	770.00
Crafts Education Demonstrator II	2	494.00	543.50**
Head, Science-Math	1	386.00	424.60**
Teacher IV	7	349.00	383.90
Teacher III	31	316.00	347.60**
Crafts Education Demonstrator I	2	316.00	347.60**
Crafts Design Demonstrator I	1	448.00	492.90
Model Maker	3	253.00	284.90**

*10% increase per Budget Circular No. 240.

**In addition to their salary they receive ₱50.00 living allowance, per Budget Circular No. 238, effective February 18, 1974.

all of them come from Laguna. Except for the principal, who gets P185, all the full-time teachers received a salary of P150 a month plus the P50 cost of living allowance. However, at the end of each schoolyear, the national government is supposed to contribute the differential so that their salary would be similar to that of the

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regular elementary school teacher which is ₱816 a month. However, since they started teaching in this barrio high school, they had received this differential only twice. For the part-time teachers, the honorarium was ₱30 to ₱40 a month per subject taught in high school.

The Masaya Barrio Development School (BDS) is a pilot school which was established in 1970 by the University of the Philippines at Los Baños with support from the Board of National Education. The local counterpart comes from student fees which consists of ₱10.00 entrance fee and ₱6.00 monthly fee. Administration and supervision of the BDS is provided by the University with the assistance of a Local Advisory Committee composed of the BDS officials, the principal of the Masaya Elementary School, the district supervisor of the Bureau of Public Schools, the PTA President and barrio officials. The Committee deliberates and acts on such matters as tuition fee collection, student discipline, school attendance, rural bank loans, salary of teachers, acquisition of new building, entertainment of visitors, and planning of school events. The BDS officials are satisfied with the participation of the committee members and believe that they are effective partners in the operation of the school. From an enrollment of 18 in 1970, housed in one room of the elementary school, the BDS has now increased to 77 students in a newly-constructed three-room building. The students were recruited or admitted on the basis of the following criteria: (1) at

least 14 years of age; (2) have finished sixth grade; (3) have decided not to go to college; and (4) are interested in and have decided to take farming as an occuption. Parents or guardians concurred with criteria 3 and 4, pledged availability of a piece of land for their children's supervised farming project and agreed to support and assist in the supervision of their project. Finally, the students' home farm for supevised farming must be within 15 minutes walking distance from the school.

In the supervised farming project, the students are assisted in choosing, starting, and operating an enterprise by the agriculture teacher in cooperation with the parents. Through a guarantee loan fund, the students obtained loans from the rural bank to get them started in their projects.

Contrary to the original concept that the BDS teachers will be paid the regular salary of a public school teacher which is ₱316, the four BLS teachers all receive monthly salaries of more than ₱600; two receive ₱765 each and one gets as much as ₱809 a month.

Among the problems mentioned by teachers of both schools are: late payment of tuition fees; student absenteeism and cutting classes; poor study habits, lack of discipline and drinking of liquor. The misuse by parents of loans for supervised farming projects of their children was also mentioned. Furthermore, the BDS teachers said that

some people in the barrio expected free school supplies.

The Malipo Barrio High School was opened in 1966 with 90 students. This enrollment dropped to 40 in 1969, increased to 113 in 1972 but went down again to 86 in 1973 because the third and fourth year classes were closed down for lack of finances. The school had its first batch of 22 graduates in 1973. The school has a two-room building in the premises of the Malipo Elementary School. Financial support comes from students' tuition fees which were not always paid promptly. To keep the school going, a number of things have been done:

(1) Principal and teachers at the elementary level taught in the high school with or without honoraria.

(2) Some classes were combined to save on teachers.

(3) Teachers dug from their own pockets to provide some of the necessary equipment and supplies.

(4) Teachers agreed to teach even with delayed or inadequate salaries.

(5) Principal borrowed funds from private sources to take care of tuition-delinquent students.

There are two female teachers in the school, both of whom admitted that teaching in this school meant a lot of sacrifice and patience. They were paid P368 a month and sometimes less. Both were dissatisfied with their jobs but stayed on because they were assigned

there by the division office. One of them said that she accepted this position only as a stepping stone to a possible job in the mother high school which has better facilities and national funding. As she further commented: "The teacher is the brightest student in this school. They lack books and have nothing to begin with." The entire class has 3 books per subject in Pilipino where they have 5 and in Science, students have bought a similar number of laboratory manuals.

2. Teachers' and Community Leaders' Views on the Youths and on the School

None of the community leaders from the three villages expressed satisfaction with the life of their young people, Table 33. More than half of the teachers in Lucban, and over 17 percent of those in Masaya and 11 percent of those in Malipo were satisfied. In other words, there is a general feeling of dissatisfaction from the point of view of both groups. Although only 29 percent of Masaya leaders were not satisfied, the rest were uncertain. When asked as to what alternatives might improve their life, most of their suggestions centered on vocational and other educational opportunities, Table 34. Farming was mentioned only by Lucban leaders and cottage industries was suggested by Malipo teachers. Lucban respondents did not think of cottage industries as a way of improving life of the youths despite the fact that the town has a number of such enterprises. Apparently they recognize that these have

Table 33. Teachers' and community leaders' satisfaction with the present life of the youths.

	Lucban		Masaya		Malipo	
	Teachers (N=48)	Leaders (N=13)	Teachers (N=12)	Leaders (N=14)	Teachers (N=19)	Leaders (N=7)
	- Percent -					
Satisfied	58	-	17	-	11	-
Not satisfied	42	100	67	29	68	100
Not sure	-	-	16	71	21	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

absorbed only a limited number of youths at relatively low wages. The leaders' dissatisfaction with the youths' life is very much associated with juvenile delinquency problems such as drunkenness, petty thievery, gambling, vagrancy, and vandalism.

On the school itself, the youths themselves looked upon it mainly as an educational opportunity either academic or vocational and a molder of character; to the parents, the local school minimizes expenses, helps discipline children, provides occupational training and of course, molds character; to the community, the school promotes beautification and cleanliness and contributes to progress by encouraging people's participation in government programs. Other functions of the school which were mentioned are: citizenship

Table 34. Teachers' and community leaders' perceived alternatives for the youths.

Perceived Alternatives	Lucban		Masaya		Malipo	
	Teachers (N=48)	Leaders (N=13)	Teachers (N=12)	Leaders (N=14)	Teachers (N=19)	Leaders (N=7)
			- Percent -			
Studying	30	-	-	-	17	58
Provide vocational training/educational opportunities	44	49	71	50	61	42
Farming	-	28	-	-	-	-
Working in cottage industries	-	-	-	-	18	-
No idea/no response	-	-	17	36	4	-
More activities for the youth	5	23	-	-	-	-
Municipal or village council should endeavor to provide the youth recreational and economic activities	11	-	12	14	-	-
Schools' objectives should aim to provide thinking and working individuals	5	-	-	-	-	-
Spiritual uplift	5	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

training, provides adult education for parents, promotes peace and order and develops ability to deal with other people. From the different groups of respondents in each community, it is obvious that the school performs many functions, only one of which is to prepare them for employment. Its role in inculcating discipline, promoting peace and order and in serving as an instrument for progress in the community is very much emphasized by all sectors. This is an important point to remember.

In Malipo where the barrio high school has closed its third and fourth year classes, there is an expressed willingness on the part of everybody (ISY, teachers and leaders), (except the out-of-school youths and their parents who were less inclined) to support a move to reopen classes. The community leaders are more optimistic than the teachers in the capability of the village to finance the school although they are both in favor of using the funds of the village council. They are really looking up to the national government to provide some support for the school's survival. In Masaya and Lucban, all the community leaders are very confident that their respective schools will last for a long time. Needless to say, the Lucban National High School is a permanent institution for it is nationally supported. In the case of the Barrio Development School in Masaya, six similar ones have been set up by Central Luzon University in Nueva Ecija and by

Central Mindanao University in Bukidnon. The concept of the pilot school has, therefore, been adopted elsewhere and will most likely spread further and faster. This means that the Pilot School in Masaya is not likely to be abolished.

3. Teachers' Views on the School and Job Prospects for Their Graduates

Considering the circumstances prevailing in each school as described above, it is only natural to expect that teachers will feel differently about their school and the opportunities for the graduates. Table 35 shows that teachers in Lucban were most satisfied about their job (98 percent) and were least inclined to leave present position even if there were other job prospects. Very understandably, only a little more than half of Malipo teachers were satisfied and almost two-thirds would be willing to leave if other jobs were available. Among Masaya teachers, the proportion who were satisfied is the same as that for Malipo but they were more uncertain about leaving present position for something else. They say: "It depends on position, salary and place of assignment." In terms of financial remuneration, the four teachers of the Masaya Barrio Development School had the highest salary because their pay is equivalent to the University of the Philippines salary scale since the school is a joint project of

Table 35. Teacher's attitude towards the school and the graduates.

Attitudes	Lucban (N=43)	Masaya (N=12)	Malipo (N=19)*
	- Percent -		
A. Satisfaction as a teacher			
Satisfied	98	54	58
Not satisfied	2	42	42
Total	100	100	100
B. Willingness to leave present position if there are other job opportunities			
Willing	37	25	63
Not willing	63	17	32
It depends	-	58	5
Total	100	100	100
C. Perceived job opportunities of their high school graduates compared with those of other schools			
Graduates have equal job opportunities	100	17	58
Graduates do not have equal job opportunities	-	33	20
No idea	-	-	11
No response	-	-	11
BDS graduates will have more job opportunities than BHS graduates	-	50	-
Total	100	100	100

*Includes teachers of elementary school.

the University and the National Board of Education. As mentioned earlier, the original plan was to pay the teachers the same salary as those in the elementary school. This did not materialize. What is interesting is the fact that not all the four teachers were satisfied with the job and were willing to stay with the school despite the fact that they received more than twice the salary of the barrio high school teachers in the same community. Their frame of reference and basis for comparison, of course, is not the barrio high school but the University of the Philippines at Los Baños which supervises the school and with which the BDS teachers identify. Compared to the on-campus faculty, the BDS teachers are in a "hardship post" although compared to other high schools in the barrio, they are quite privileged. The Lucban teachers are happy about their position because of the service they render to the youth; their love for the profession; good salary and good administration; nearness to home and family; and cooperation among teachers and administration. Lucban is also an attractive town and the school is a well-established one which is not in the same financial trouble as the Malipo and the Masaya Barrio High Schools. For most of them, Lucban is their hometown.

When asked how their graduates compare with those of other high schools as far as job opportunities are concerned, all the Lucban teachers were confident about their school, Table 36. The Masaya teachers believe

Table 36. Teachers' perceived job opportunities for their school dropouts and graduates.

Perceived Job Opportunities	Lucban		Masaya		Malipo	
	Dropouts (N-48)	Graduates (N-48)	Dropouts (N-12)	Graduates (N-12)	Dropouts (N-19)	Graduates (N-19)
			- Percent -			
Farming (SFP)	23	5	25	25	31	5
Unskilled labor	18	-	-	-	-	-
Farm labor	-	1	42	-	-	-
Any job where high school graduates will qualify	-	6	-	67	-	-
Skilled labor	41	77	-	-	-	19
Factory worker	18	11	-	-	-	-
None/Don't know	-	-	25	-	-	-
No response	-	-	8	8	19	36
Cottage industries/Abaca craft	-	-	-	-	47	32
No job	-	-	-	-	3	-
Others (they have more opportunities but non-specific)	-	-	-	-	-	8
TR = Total Response	100	100	100	100	100	100

that BDS graduates will have better job opportunities than those from the BHS. The Malipo teachers were most negative in their assessment of their graduates' job opportunities compared to those from other schools.

In Table 36 we can see that the teachers have a very limited notion as to what job opportunities await both their graduates and their dropouts. Farming and farm labor were expected more for dropouts than for graduates except for Masaya. The "don't know", no response, and "any job" responses make up a significant proportion of the answers of Masaya and Malipo teachers. In other words, after mentioning farming, farm labor, abaca-craft maker and factory worker, there is not much more they could think of as job opportunities for their students.

This ambiguity and limited perception as to what lies ahead employment-wise is also very evident among the youths themselves, Table 37. Although 70 percent of Malipo ISY think they can find employment even if they cannot go to college, one fourth are not sure where such employment can be found. Only 23 percent hope to find it in the barrio and if they stay there, farming is mentioned by 51 percent and 31 percent could not think of any job opportunity in the barrio. The OSY are more pessimistic than the ISY on this score. Only 43 percent of them think they can find employment if they cannot go to college. They are also more

Table 37. Malipo youths' probability of finding employment if they cannot go to college.

	ISY (N=86)	OSY (N=168)	Total (N=254)
	- Percent -		
Yes	70	43	52
No	28	43	41
Not sure	2	14	7
Total	100	100	100
Place Where They Hope to Find Employment	(N=60)	(N= 73)	(N=133)
In the barrio	23	30	27
Town	25	34	28
Legaspi City	10	18	14
Manila	6	7	7
Any place	24	11	18
No response	12	-	6
Total	100	100	100
Type of Work They Will Find if They Stay in the Barrio	(N=35)	(N=115)	(N=150)
Farming	51	41	44
Handicraft making	6	10	8
Dressmaking	6	1	2
Hired labor	6	1	2
All kinds of unskilled job	-	11	9
Any work	-	26	16
None (Can't think of any)	31	10	19
Total	100	100	100

ambiguous about what jobs could be found if they stayed in the barrio.

4. Parents' and Children's Views on the School

A child's choice of a school is influenced to some extent by his parents. Table 38, however, indicates that the more urbanized community of Lucban has the most independent decision-making on the part of the child (73 percent). This "independence from the parents" is displayed not only in the choice of a school but also in the decision to pursue a particular curriculum. The college-preparatory academic curriculum was selected by the child himself in 89 percent of the cases and a similar proportion among those who took the vocational curriculum did the same thing. For the Masaya ISY, 34 percent and for the Malipo ISY, only about 12 percent manifested this independence of decision-making. Almost one-half of the Masaya youths said that their parents made the decision for them while in the case of Malipo, 78 percent made the decision jointly with their parents. The major reasons cited for choosing to send their children to a particular school are the matter of less expense, accessibility of the school to the home and therefore, the parents have a chance to keep close supervision over them. The other reason given was the chance for the children to help their parents in farm work while studying because the school is just nearby. For the Masaya children, they hope that by studying in the schools at the barrio they could help parents financially either by working as hired farm labor

Table 38. Persons responsible for choice of child's school.

Mode of Choice	Lucban ISY (N=287)	Masaya ISY (N=182)	Malipo ISY (N=86)
	- Percent -		
Child's	73	34	12
Parent(s)	13	46	9
Child's and parents'	13	17	78
Others	-	3	1
No response	1	-	-

during the peak seasons of labor demand or through the earnings from supervised farm projects in the case of students from the Barrio Development School. Child's interest in either the terminal vocational or the college-preparatory curriculum prompted 30 percent of the Masaya parents to send their children either to the BDS or the BHS. What is interesting, however, is that 42 percent of the BDS students were not aware that the curriculum they are pursuing is not college-preparatory. In Malipo, however, 21 percent of the students in the barrio high school were not aware that their

curriculum is college-preparatory. For the Lucban students, selection of the academic curriculum was due mainly to desire for college education. Furthermore, they do not have to do projects; less subjects are required; and they spent less time in school. A few felt that the academic curriculum is more sophisticated than the vocational one. The factor of less requirements for the academic than for the vocational curriculum is due to the fact that the latter is a dual-purpose course. The teachers themselves confirmed this when asked to compare these two curricula, that the vocational one offered an opportunity to go to college while at the same time training the students in various skills. The vocational curriculum, therefore, provided more experiences and training than the academic one.

From the point of view of vocational students, their choice of this curriculum was influenced by their belief that vocational specialization will make it easier for them to find work. Their fields of specialization were: home industries, 43 percent; woodworking, 34 percent; retail merchandising, 16 percent; and seven percent were preparing for band membership. The most common projects they had were buricraft (30 percent); carpentry (24 percent); macrame (16 percent); and retail merchandising (10 percent). These projects were undertaken because they were required in the curriculum (43 percent); they were perceived as avenues for immediate employment after graduation (29 per-

cent) and they enabled the students to sell products right away (18 percent). When asked whether they benefited from these projects in terms of training, 96 percent of them said "Yes"! Undertaking the projects had broadened their knowledge and made them better persons. All of them also acknowledged that things discussed in the classroom were applied to their projects.

5. The Masaya Barrio High School and Barrio Development School Compared

Because the BDS and the BHS were established at about the same time in the same village, comparisons between the two schools are not only inevitable but badly needed in view of the different curriculum offered in each school. We have a unique chance to study the community's response to each of them and to compare their students. Table 39 indicates that the students in both schools came from families of the same income level. They do not differ significantly in terms of geographic mobility, migration propensity, exposure to the outside world and perception of farming as offering economic opportunities equal to other occupations. BHS students have slightly higher academic performance before entering high school. The most striking differences can be found in educational aspiration, with more BDS students aspiring for vocational and more BHS students wanting college education. Among those who are not satisfied with their life,

Table 39. Comparisons of the BDS and the BHS students.

	BDS Students (N=67)	BHS Students (N=115)
	- Percent -	
1. Grade Average in Sixth Grade		
Do not remember	9	8
75 - 79	43	41
80 - 84	48	43
85 and above	-	8
	100	100
2. Average monthly family income	P355	P352
3. Educational status of friends		
All in-school	46	65
All out-of-school	9	5
Both in- and out-of-school	39	25
No friends	6	5
	100	100
4. Perceived farming as offering economic opportunities equal to other occupations		
Yes	94	97
No	6	3
	100	100
5. Educational aspiration		
Vocational	61	17
College	28	73
Either college or vocational	11	10
	100	100
6. Perceived economic opportunities in the community		
Do not know	3	25
Unskilled occupations	9	5
Semi-skilled	88	66
Professional	-	4
	100	100

Table 39. (Continued)

	BDS Students (N=67)	BHS Students (N=115)
	- Percent -	
7. Perceived alternatives in life of those not satisfied with their life		
Working	50	28
Studying	25	72
Studying and working or business	13	-
Farming	12	-
	100	100
8. Exposure to the outside world		
Very low exposure	-	2
Low exposure	31	23
Moderate exposure	64	62
High exposure	5	13
	100	100
9. Geographic mobility		
No mobility	75	71
Very low mobility	22	25
Low mobility	3	4
	100	100
10. Migration propensity		
Low	75	76
High	25	24
	100	100

only the BDS students (12 percent) thought of farming as an alternative or a way out of their unsatisfactory life while 50 percent mentioned working. On the other hand, almost three-fourths of the BHS students consider studying as the avenue to improvement of their life. Consistent with their interest in vocational rather than college education, 88 percent of the BDS students' perceived economic opportunities in the community are mainly semi-skilled occupations. None of them mentioned professional jobs. Of the BHS students, only 66 percent perceived semi-skilled job opportunities in the community; 4 percent saw opportunities in professional occupations and 25 percent do not know what economic opportunities exist in their place. The other interesting difference is the greater tendency of the BHS students to have most of their friends from among other ISY while in the case of BDS students, 39 percent have friends from both ISY and OSY groups. Considering the objectives of BDS in developing farmer entrepreneurs and in keeping the youths in the village, it should be noted that the two groups of students have practically the same positive assessment of farming as an occupation and have similar inclination to stay in their own village instead of migrating to Manila. The very slight difference observed, in fact, occurred in the opposite direction with BHS students being just a little bit more positive about farming and predisposed to stay in their village the rest of their life but these

differences are really negligible.

As far as offering opportunities for secondary education is concerned, the parents' assessment of BDS is divided almost equally between those who think that BDS offers more and those who believe it offers less. For the OSY, there are more "don't knows" (26 percent) than among parents (5 percent) but in their eyes, BDS offers more than the BHS, Table 40. When it comes to opportunities for earning a living offered by these two schools, the BDS is overwhelmingly endorsed by all sectors including the OSY, parents, community leaders and teachers with the latter showing the most favorable perception (83 percent) and OSY less favorable (68 percent) but nevertheless, the assessment is in general, a very positive one. The BHS was mentioned only by a minimal proportion of OSY (3 percent) and parents (11 percent) as offering better opportunities for earning a living than the BDS, Table 41.

When asked for their general impressions and opinions on the two schools, the responses centered on the inexpensive education which both schools have brought to the village especially from the point of view of the community leaders and the youths. The parents emphasized the value of the schools in the "progress" of the community. The BDS certainly elicited more comments than the BHS. For the latter, the only comments made were on the fact that its graduates can go to college. The only negative reaction to the BDS is its non-college-preparatory curriculum.

Table 40. Perception of secondary educational opportunities offered by the BDS and the BHS.

	OSY (N=100)	Parents (N=186)
	- Percent -	
Equal	15	19
BDS more	38	39
BDS less	21	37
Don't know	26	5
	100	100

Table 41. Perception of opportunities for earning a living offered by either the BDS or the BHS.

	OSY (N=100)	Parents (N=186)	Community Leaders (N=14)	Teachers (N=12)
	- Percent -			
Both or equal	11	8	14	-
BDS better	68	70	72	83
BHS better	3	11	-	-
Don't know	18	11	14	17
	100	100	100	100

Its merits lie in the supervised farming projects and the occupational training and modern farming techniques which the BDS introduced, Table 42. Further endorsements on the supervised farming

Table 42. Impressions and opinions about the BDS and the BHS.

Total Number of Responses:	Youths (N=372)	Parents (N=216)	Community Leaders (N=28)
	- Percent -		
On Both Schools			
Barrio became progressive.	2	28	-
They opened a less expensive and/or the only educational opportunity for the poor.	26	2	43
They are well liked by the people.	12	5	-
Children can be watched closely by the parents because schools are near.	-	1	4
Youths are given eye-openers to strive for a better future.	-	-	1
On the BDS			
Supervised farming projects benefit students as well as their families.	10	16	14
Many acquired occupational training and modern techniques in farming.	33	36	7
Graduates cannot go to college.	5	11	18
It opened opportunity for non-academically inclined youths.	1	1	-
It has high standard and imposes discipline.	2	-	-
It helps student acquire capital from the rural bank.	2	-	-
BDS concept is suited to barrio life.	1	-	-
On the BHS			
Graduates can go to college.	5	-	13
It has low standard and poor management.	1	-	-
Total	100	100	100

projects are revealed in Table 43. All the teachers and the leaders, 84 percent of the BDS students and 64 percent of the parents believe that the BDS graduates have the ability to manage their own farm enterprises but the parents were more uncertain on this matter than the 3 other groups.

Since the supervised farming program is the core of instruction of the BDS, we want to look at the students' performance in it. The projects engaged in were one or a combination of any of the following projects: (1) swine, (2) rabbit, (3) cattle, (4) vegetable, (5) poultry, (6) rice, (7) horse, (8) duck, and (9) turkey. Choice of the projects was determined by expected profitability; experience in raising particular animals; desire to try a new project after failure with another one; needed capital is small; and suggestion of parents and teachers. Under the guarantee loan fund, which is a supervised credit scheme, a student can secure a loan from the Los Baños Rural Bank up to a maximum amount of ₱500 for use in his project. For the school-year 1973-74, there were 49 students who obtained loans under this scheme with a total of ₱21,229 or an average of ₱433 per student. Although these loans should be used only for the supervised farming projects, 33 percent of the students used them for other purposes. Due to unavoidable circumstances, these "missapplied" loans were used at home, 50 percent; for father's work or farm, 18 percent; borrowed by

Table 43. Opinions as to whether BDS graduates have the ability to manage their own enterprises.

	BDS Students (N=67)	Parents (N=67)	Community Leaders (N=14)	BDS Teachers (N=3)
		- Percent -		
Yes	84	64	100	100
Maybe	16	31	-	-
No	-	5	-	-
Total	100	100	100	100

other students, 9 percent; for matriculation fees and medical expenses, 9 percent; and even for house construction. Fifty-nine percent returned the money to their project funds and 41 percent did not.

Besides the supervised farming program, the BDS students are also required to undertake cooperative projects the purpose of which is to inculcate social consciousness, the value of working together for a common good, and to mobilize the students as agents of change in the community. The cooperative projects undertaken were: vegetable garden; feed mixing; swine insurance system and rice production. The vegetable garden and rice production projects enabled the students to test and apply things learned in the classroom and to demonstrate to

the community the use of the package of technology which goes with the high-yielding crops. Through these rice production projects, the BDS seems to have had an impact on rice farmers because more and more of them are seeking the technical advice of the BDS teachers. To mutually spread the risks involved in swine production, the BDS students put up a swine insurance system where a member pays P15 per insured pig. If an insured pig dies, the cost of the weanling was drawn from the insurance fund to enable the student to buy a new one. This system was one of the benefits extended to the BDS cooperative members.

Two major problems encountered by the students in their projects were: losses due to animal disease and epidemic outbreak or high mortality in the livestock projects; increase in cost of inputs especially of feeds which led to insufficient capital and some parents were afraid for their children to borrow the maximum amount of P500. To the students, however, these problems are not without solutions. They recognize the role of immunization and immediate treatment of diseases, sanitation, additional care of and attention to animals, careful choice of breeds; changing of stock if necessary, and insurance of hogs. Some students thought of getting more loans from the rural bank and formulating their own feeds to remedy the high cost of feeds. When asked which of the things they learned at the BDS they considered most important, the students mentioned animal production;

subjects like agriculture, arithmetic, language and English; crop production; project plan preparation, business management and securing of loan from the bank. The students performed by themselves such operations as: caponizing, immunization, feed formulation, feeding, spraying, fertilization, etc. which they first learned in the classroom.

By conducting supervised projects in the students' homes, other members of the family also learned some, if not all of the modern practices in raising livestock and growing crops. Family members participated in feeding the animals, cleaning of poultry houses and pig pens; providing loans to purchase animal stock; taking care of project when student is away or in school; construction and/or repair of livestock houses; purchase of feeds and looking for buyers of produce. Through such participation in student projects, family members also learned about the feeding, care and management of livestock including immunization, diagnosis of plant and animal diseases, and identification of swine breeds.

Since the crux of these projects is profitability, the EDS students were asked whether or not they made money from their enterprises. Table 44 shows that 60 percent of them did; 15 percent did not because of livestock mortality and increased cost of input; and 25 percent had just started their projects. Fifteen out of the 46 students who made money also made profits in the form of produce consumed at home which amounted to a total of ₱2,157. Although 13 percent made only ₱100 or less, 13 percent gained ₱700 or more. The average cash profit per student was ₱395. Besides the

Table 44. BDS students' profit from their projects.

	N = 77
	- Percent -
Profited	60
Did not profit	15
Just started project	25
Total	100

Cash gains from project

	N = 46
	- Percent -
₱ 100 and below	18
₱ 101 - ₱ 400	45
₱ 401 - ₱ 700	24
₱ 701 - ₱1000	10
₱1001 or more	3
Total	100

How profit was used

	N = 46
	- Percent -
Added to project fund	63
Given to parents for family needs	22
Saved some or all	9
Paid matriculation fees of student and/or younger siblings	4
Spent on father's funeral	2
Total	100

encouraging results from the projects, the students exhibited a business orientation in the use of their profit. Sixty-three percent added their earnings to the project fund and 9 percent saved some or all of it. It is also noteworthy that this money was also used to meet family needs.

The Fate of the Graduates Themselves

1. Activities of Graduates from the Four Schools in Three Communities

With all their aspirations and expectations for education and occupation, what are the realities for the graduates of these schools? In Lucban, students who finished the college-preparatory curriculum had almost an equal proportion of those who continued on to college and those who are working. Although 38 percent of the vocational curriculum graduates are working, 21 percent of them are also in college. What is striking is that 41 percent of the vocational graduates are neither gainfully employed nor are they studying. As far as the graduates themselves are concerned, they are "doing nothing" although this is not literally true. Twenty-eight percent of the college-preparatory graduates are in this same situation. Because of the terminal nature of the BDS curriculum, one would expect this group to have the highest proportion who would be working after graduation. From the Masaya BHS,

those who continued studying are only slightly more than those who are working and about one-fourth of them are looking for a job and/or helping with household chores. On the other hand, those from the Malipo BHS who finished an academic curriculum had only 27 percent who are pursuing college studies, Table 45.

Because the National College Entrance Examination (NCEE) is a requirement for admission to college, their performance in this exam is important if their dream of going to college is to materialize. From Table 46 we can see that the vocational curriculum graduates from Lucban were not particularly handicapped on this score although predictably slightly more of them (29 as against 19 percent of the college preparatory graduates) failed in the NCEE. For the Masaya BHS, 82 percent passed and for Malipo only 2 out of 22 took the exam. One passed and the other did not bother to find out the result of the examination.

For details on what the graduates are pursuing in college and the kinds of jobs they have, Tables 47, 48, 49, and 50 are presented. It can be readily seen from Table 47 that graduates from the college-preparatory and the vocational curricula of the 2-2 plan at the Lucban National High School do not differ in their educational pursuits after high school. They have practically the same proportion of graduates who are in vocational and in college-degree courses, contrary to what one might expect. In types of jobs held by those who are not studying,

Table 45. Activities of graduates at the time of the study.

	Lucban		Masaya		Malipo
	College Preparatory (N=155)	Vocational (N=85)	BDS (N=12)	BHS (N=33)	BHS (N=22)
	- Percent -				
Studying	39	21	8	39	27
Working	34	38	85	31	63
Studying and working at the same time	1	-	-	6	-
Neither gainfully employed nor studying	28	41	7	-	-
Married	-	-	-	-	5
Looking for a job and/ or helping with household chores	-	-	-	24	-
	100	100	100	100	100

Table 46. Graduates' performance in the National College Entrance Examination (NCEE).

	Lucban		Masaya	Malipo
	College Preparatory	Vocational	BHS	BHS
No. of graduates	155	85	33	22
No. who took the exam	154	85	31	2
Performance	- Percent -			
Passed	81	71	82	50
Failed	19	29	18	-
Not known	-	-	-	50
	100	100	100	100

Table 47. Courses pursued by those who are studying.

	Lucban Graduates of		
	College Preparatory Curriculum (N=48)	Vocational Curriculum (N=21)	
	- Percent -		
Vocational courses	27	29	
Professional (College degree) courses	73	71	
	100	100	
			Total
Vocational Courses			27
Secretarial course	8		
Midwifery	6		
Automative mechanic	4		
Fisheries	2		
Dressmaking	2		
Radio commercial mechanic	2		
Teletype operator	2		
Radio telegraph operator	1		
College-degree Courses			73
Engineering	26		
Medicine and related fields	17		
Liberal Arts	12		
Commerce	11		
Education	5		
Science	2		
			100

Table 48. Types of jobs held by the graduates who are working.

	Lucban Graduates of	
	College Preparatory Curriculum (N=56)	Vocational Curriculum (N=36)
	- Percent -	
Farming	36	11
Household helper	23	28
Weaving	10	28
Hired labor	14	6
Bag designer	5	13
Selling	5	11
Tailor	7	3
	100	100

Activities of those who are neither working for pay nor studying.

	N = 79 Percent of Total*
Helping in household chores	79
Helping in the farm	63
Weaving	63
Socializing with friends	50
Reading comics	50
Sewing	48

*More than one activity was mentioned.

Table 49. Specific study and work activities of the Masaya BDS and BHS graduates.

	BDS Graduates N = 12	
Studying auto-mechanics	1	
Continuing with farm projects and working at the same as farm laborers	7	
Hired laborers in poultry farm in Lipa city	2	
Lanzones (fruit tree) caretaker	1	
Unemployed and had stopped operating his farm project	1	
N	12	
	BHS Graduates N = 33	
Studying		15
Vocational courses such as auto-mechanics and typing	9	
College-degree courses Engineering and Liberal Arts	6	
Working		11
Farm laborers	5	
Storekeeper	1	
Houseboy	1	
Tractor operator	1	
Farmers	3	
Neither working for pay nor studying		7
Looking for a job and/or doing household chores	7	

Table 50. Specific study and work activities of the Malipo BHS graduates.

	N = 22	
Studying		7*
College degree courses		
Agriculture	5	
Education	1	
International correspondence school	1	
Working		14
Farming	4	
Abaca stripping	2	
Handicraft making	2	
Tailor	1	
Helping parents	1	
Waiter	1	
Security guard	1	
Janitor	1	
Household help	1	
Married		1

*Although only one passed the NCEE, 5 graduates were able to get admission to the university before the NCEE requirement was implemented.

there are more college-preparatory than vocational graduates who are in farming and in hired labor. It is only in weaving and bag designing where there are more vocational than college-preparatory graduates. However, this trend cannot be attributed wholely to the vocational training

the youths had in school because 10 and 5 percent of the college-preparatory graduates are engaged in weaving and bag designing. Those who said they were "doing nothing" were performing household chores, helping in the farm, weaving, sewing, etc. but not for any regular wages.

Among the 12 Masaya BDS graduates, only 7 are continuing on with their farm projects while working as farm laborers because the earnings from these projects are not sufficient sources of income. One of them had opted to study auto-mechanics which is something completely different from their secondary curriculum. It is significant that even if there were only a dozen graduates, not a single one had been "established in farming" as envisioned by the BDS program. For the Masaya BHS graduates, there are more who are taking vocational than college-degree courses. Just like the graduates of the BDS, those who are working are engaged in farming and in farm labor, Table 51.

Data on place of study and place of work show that those who are studying are doing so in places outside their community. This is to be expected since there are no further educational opportunities in their community except for the Lucban Community College but this has not attracted their graduates. Considering the nature of the vocational and college-degree courses they are taking, the chances that these youths would return to their village after finishing their

Table 51. Place of study and place of work of the graduates.

	Place of Work	Place of Study
	Lucban	
	N=92	N=69
	- Percent -	
Lucban	53	9
Lucena	9	28
Manila	21	57
Other places	17	6
	100	100
	Masaya	
	N=21	N=16
	- Percent -	
Masaya	48	-
Neighboring barrios	19	-
Neighboring town or city	24	6
San Pablo City	-	63
Manila	9	31
	100	100
	Malipo	
	N=15	N= 7
	- Percent -	
Malipo and vicinity	73	-
Guinobatan	-	100
Manila	27	-
	100	100

their studies are pretty slim. Of those who are working, the Malipo youths who were most inclined to move to Manila find themselves contributing the most, proportionately speaking, to the Manila migrants, followed by Lucban, and the least migratory of all are those from Masaya.

As far as their earnings are concerned, 49 percent of the working graduates from Lucban received less than P100 a month; for those in Masaya, the average monthly income is P172 and for those in Malipo, only the security guard, janitor and waiter who worked in Manila earned more than P100 a month.

When asked about the adequacy of their curriculum for what they are presently doing, the Lucban students expressed the greatest adequacy and Malipo, the least adequacy, Table 52. These results can be related to the nature of facilities and resources available in these schools. What is interesting is the difference in the perceptions of the students and of the graduates. More of the ISY than the graduates thought of the curriculum as adequate. It is only on Lucban where the feeling of adequacy was equally shared by the graduates. Perhaps the realities of work and study which confront the graduates make them realize their needs more than the ISY.

Table 52. ISY and graduates' perception of adequacy of curriculum for what they are doing either working or studying.

Perception of Adequacy of Curriculum	Lucban		Masaya				Malipo	
			B H S		BDS			
	ISY (N=244)	Graduate (N=240)	ISY (N=115)	Graduate (N=33)	ISY (N=67)	Graduate (N=12)	ISY (N=86)	Graduate (N=22)
	- Percent -							
Adequate	92	92	90	64	84	75	77	59
Not adequate	8	8	10	15	-	8	21	36
Not sure/no idea	-	-	-	21	16	17	2	-
No response	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5

SUMMARY

From three village-level case studies, we can make the following general observations about rural youth in these communities:

1. Just like the findings of many other studies, college education is the dream of most youths and of most parents for their children. College education is regarded as some kind of a vague insurance for a better job and a better future. This idea persists even if they are aware of unemployed college graduates and successful non-degree holders. The problem of educated unemployment is blamed more on the graduates themselves than on the supply-demand situation. However, there is a considerable element of fantasy in this dream because expectations of fulfillment are much less optimistic than their aspirations. Furthermore aspirations for college education are inconsistent with their occupational aspirations which are oriented more toward skilled occupations which do not require college education.

Despite all odds, there is some degree of persistence toward this dream as evidenced by their return to school even after a drop-out period brought about by financial problems, need to help in the farm, lack of interest in studying or even poor health. Going to school is also perceived as an immediate alternative to working as a useful way of occupying one's time especially because gainful employment is not

easily available. For the OSY majority are not working for pay although this does not mean idleness on their part. They are mostly occupied with helping in the farm or in the household chores. The latter, particularly in the case of female youth, can occupy a significant portion of their time because of large family size and siblings coming at close intervals. The tasks of cooking, baby-sitting, laundry, housecleaning, etc. can absorb a day's labor everyday of the week. Dissatisfaction with life is associated with lack of stable job and source of income.

2. Although majority of the youths have thought of farming as an occupation, it is not really a preferred occupation. It is something to fall back on when the first choice (college education or skilled job with regular income) fails to materialize. There is an ambivalence in their attitude toward farming. To them, farming as an occupation offers a good potential "if" conditions happen to be "right" and favorable. Farming is a risky enterprise and is not a definitely positive and dependable source of income. Hard, physical work involved and the risks of crop failure are the specific negative features of farming which make it unattractive to many.

Contrary to popular belief, farming as an enterprise to be managed and operated by youth on his own is not an alternative available to

many children. Farms in these communities are small for the average family size (6 or 7 children) and therefore, a farmer cannot relinquish the farm to his child because it is the family's major source of income. As a matter of fact, most of the BDS students' supervised farm projects were on livestock and only three had rice production projects precisely because the only land available to the family is what the father is cultivating. The usual practice, therefore, is for the child to work on the farm as unpaid family labor or as hired farm labor in somebody else's farm. Of course in the case of non-farm households, there is no land to farm so farming is really not an alternative for their children. Perhaps this is another major disincentive to farming among the rural youth since working on the family farm does not bring him an independent source of income. Although it occupies his time and he contributes his labor to the enterprise, the farm is not really his. Therefore, when a child says that he will go into farming if he cannot go to college or find another job, it very rarely means being a farm operator but more of a labor contributor to a farm which is being cultivated by the family either as owner, lessee or share tenant.

3. Comparing their state of livelihood and life chances with those of youths from the barrio, the town and from Manila, the OSY felt much more deprived than the ISY. The more urbanized the place of comparison, the worse-off the rural youths perceived their situation to be such that

they felt most deprived relative to their colleagues in Manila. However, their village was regarded as a desirable place of residence and Manila, a desirable place of work. More than half of the youths in Lucban and Malipo expressed a desire to move to Manila. For the Malipo OSY, it was lack of money for transportation and subsistence which prevented them from actually migrating; for the ISY they were too young and were still studying.

4. Being in school; having higher income and educational aspirations; and perception of studying as the alternative to the improvement of one's life are associated with higher propensity to migrate. The presence of a high school in the village is perceived by everybody as a positive development factor because higher education is much valued. Ironically this "development agent" also contributes to out-migration unless economic opportunities commensurate with their aspirations and expectations were locally available.

5. The most dramatic observations in these case studies are the differences among the three communities with Masaya exhibiting the following characteristics:

(a) Although more ISY than OSY aspire for college education in the three villages, in Masaya even among the ISY the proportion aspiring for college education is lower than for either Lucban or Malipo. Among the OSY, Masaya also has the highest proportion of gain-

fully employed mostly as hired farm labor.

(b) Masaya youths and parents were most satisfied with the life of the youth and have the most positive attitude toward farming as an o[illegible]pation offering equal opportunities as other occupations.

(c) Compared to the two other communities, Masaya youths also have the most favorable assessment of their village as a place of residence and as a place of work. They also have the greatest desire to stay in the village the rest of their life and the least inclination to move to Manila. More of the parents in Masaya than in Lucban or Malipo reported adequacy of family income.

(d) Masaya appears to have a "happy" situation where what they want in life is what the community offers. This village has diverse farm labor opportunities in rice, sugarcane, coconuts, bananas, coffee, etc. and farm wages are higher than in Lucban and Malipo. More of the Masaya parents are migrants from other places, hence this village is already the product of a search for a better life on the part of the parents. Although Masaya is only 68 kilometers from Manila, their youths have much lower geographic mobility and exposure to the outside world than Lucban. We cannot attribute low migration propensity to low exposure and geographic mobility because Malipo which has the least of these and yet has a higher proportion of youths wanting to migrate to Manila.

6. The 2-2 plan curriculum of the Lucban National High School shows that those who pursued the vocational curriculum can in effect, "have their cake and eat it too"! The employment patterns of graduates who are working and the courses being taken by those who are studying either vocational or college-degree oriented courses did not differ despite the fact that one group pursued the vocational and the other took the college-preparatory curriculum. Their performance in the NCEE did not differ very much either. In other words, the vocational curriculum graduates had no particular handicaps in getting entry into college-degree courses but neither did they have any real advantage in terms of greater employability than those who graduated from the college-preparatory curriculum.

7. The situation of the Malipo Barrio High School which is hovering between "life and death" as far as its survival is concerned is probably not a rare occurrence in the countryside. The graduates, students, and their parents are most naive about the college-preparatory nature of their curriculum and the NCEE requirement for admission to the University; yet they have the greatest desire for professional jobs. They were least aware of the phenomenon of the educated unemployed and those who were, attributed the unemployment to the laziness, lack of initiative and ambition on the part of the graduates themselves. Of the 3 communities studied, Malipo has thought most of studying as a

way out of an unsatisfactory life for the youth. Parents in Malipo have the least endorsement of their village as a desirable place for their children.

7. In a way,the BHS has a built-in "success factor" in their program in the sense that its main objective is "to make possible equal opportunities for high school education for all people of the Philippines regardless of birth or of the economic conditions of their parents, thus enabling all the people to achieve high school education." All sectors of the community both in Malipo and Masaya acknowledge the fact that the BHS has provided village youths of high school age an access to low-cost secondary education right near home. This convenience makes it possible for them to go to school while at the same time helping in farming and household chores especially during the peak season of labor demand. Besides low cost and convenience, the only other major virtue of the BHS which is recognized is its college-preparatory character.

On the other hand, the BDS has a built-in "failure factor" because "it is a secondary school program for the barrio youth who have decided to stay, live, and work in the barrio as a farm operator. Furthermore, their "ultimate measure of success of the BDS is the establishment of economic scale farming by the graduates." These two objectives of the BDS program are both difficult to realize because whether or not village

youth would stay, live and work in the barrio as a farm operator is determined by factors beyond the control of the school and its curriculum. Circumstances obtaining in the community are quite crucial in this regard. From the follow-up of the 12 graduates, we can see that none of them became farm operators. Even those continuing on with their farm projects are doing so only as a side activity to their main job of being hired farm labor because income from their enterprises is not sufficient source of livelihood. Although BDS students have a very positive view of farming and of their community as place of residence and place of work, this cannot be credited to the terminal curriculum because the BHS students and even the OSY also hold such views.

The heart of the BDS is the supervised farming program. It is this feature of the school which has generated the most favorable comments from students, parents, teachers, and community leaders because students earn while studying and it also serves as an extension arm of the school in reaching farm families. Furthermore it is an honest-to-goodness learning by doing approach using real-life enterprise carried out with all the costs and risks of farm production, management, and marketing. These types of skills and experiences, when effectively imparted, represent assets for survival even in the competitive world of the city. Unless the community provides a socio-economic environment for profitable application of such skills, we should not be surprised

if the graduates find a market for their skills and experience elsewhere. Perhaps in places where more land is available for farming, there would be a greater likelihood for BDS graduates to stay and get established as farm operators in the community. But this remains to be seen especially if there are many graduates produced by the school. How many of them can be absorbed by the village economy, no matter how favorable it is? Without the supervised farming program, there is no real merit in the BDS especially because its greatest disadvantage is inability of graduates to go on to college.

8. Alternatives for rural youths in the three communities are rather limited. For the out-of-school youths, majority are not gainfully employed although it is inaccurate to say that they are idle. They were mostly unpaid family helpers in the farm and in household chores. For those who found paid jobs, they were employed as hired farm labor; unskilled labor; semi-skilled factory worker; handicraft worker; peddler; dressmaker/tailor; domestic helper and a few were in service jobs as waiter, janitor, salesgirl, etc. For those who were in high school, their dream was to go on to college only to find that after secondary education, only a few could actually do so. Their job opportunities were not much better than those who were out of school. Many still found themselves "doing nothing" which is not literally true because like the OSY who did not finish high school, they were helping

in farm and household chores. Those who were continuing on with vocational and college-degree courses will most probably find their future and their "fortunes" outside their village. The so-called gainfully employed among the OSY and the high school graduates have little earnings from their work, about less than ₱100 a month for most and some make about ₱200. Given these rather unexciting prospects for rural youths with or without high school education, which would be preferable: to be little employed and little educated or little employed but a bit more educated? But then, their real preference is for college education.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND THE LARGER ISSUES

The results of these three case studies have to be related to other existing information so that the larger policy issues may be identified, even if not answered. Our analysis has led us to four areas of concern:

(a) formal vs. non-formal approach to training for self-employment in farming;

(b) education, training, employment and migration;

(c) education as an equity measure; and

(d) education and population control motivation.

A. Formal vs. non-formal approach to training for self-employment in farming.

As mentioned earlier, the heart of the Barrio Development School is the supervised farming program. Without this, there is no merit in such a school. However, one must ask at this point whether it is necessary to put up a school for this purpose. Let us look briefly at another approach using a training program outside the formal school system:

A 3-year pilot supervised farming program for OSY which was conducted without establishing a formal school showed the important role played by supervised credit in the training program. The project evaluation observed that as far as the group instruction was concerned, there was no significant difference in the amount of learning between those with or without supervised credit. However, all those who received credit assistance had the opportunity to put up their projects while only two (out of 29 trainees) of those who had no credit assistance were able to do so. The average yearly gross income of those with supervised credit was also much higher (P2,794) than those without it (P213.80). On the educational impact of the supervised farming program, all of the 29 trainees said that it provided them an opportunity to earn while learning and that their farming projects

helped augment the meager income of their respective families. Furthermore, it provided them an opportunity to apply in the home farm what they have been taught in the group instruction. Besides manipulative skills in agriculture, they also learned to manage their own farm enterprise and developed desirable attitudes toward farm work. The supervised credit program also gave the trainees the experience in securing loans from the bank. At the end of the three-year period, 25 of the 29 trainees were decided to continue their supervised farming projects. Of the four who decided to discontinue their projects, two had found full-time jobs while the other two did not have sufficient capital to sustain their farm enterprise. Nine out of 29 wanted additional loans to expand their projects.[4]

The major problem encountered in this approach is lack of assured continuing financial support for the program and therefore, the resulting uncertainty of the project status. Where there is an established school, somehow, some support seems to be forthcoming from somewhere. It is not easy to fold up a school but it is easy to terminate a training program. On the other hand, experience with this

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[4]Vicente A. Quiton, The UPLB-UNICEF Vocational Education Project for Out-of-School Farm Youths, Research Report for Phase II - The Pilot Training Program, Department of Agricultural Education, College of Agriculture, University of the Philippines at Los Baños, February 1975.

approach has shown its merit to be flexibility in content and scheduling of the training program to suit local conditions. A formal school set-up has an inertia to proceed as conceived even when perceived as no longer relevant. Furthermore, a training program, if no longer needed, can be terminated. An established school especially when enshrined in a building can never be abolished without "blood and tears"!

B. Education, training, employment, and migration.

The educated unemployed and the unemployed out-of-school youth are two problems which have generated many solutions such as the vocationalization of high schools, the institutionalization of a National College Entrance Examination and the creation of the National Manpower and Youth Council and other agencies concerned with out-of-school youth programs. Typical of the reaction to and assessment of some of the solutions to these problems are reflected in the reports of Illo and Lynch and Guerrero.

Illo and Lynch in their study in Camarines Sur ask "What effects would likely follow if high school training were made more readily available to a larger percentage of the labor force?" The immediate effect they predict is an increase in the percentage of unemployed and therefore, "from a labor-force viewpoint", they con-

clude that "the mere multiplication of high schools in the River Basin is not a good idea. Nor is there, despite a popular opinion to the contrary, any advantage likely to be gained by further vocationalizing the high school curriculum." Their suggested tactics, in lieu of more high schools or in-school skills training are: (1) a serious intensive effort to upgrade the quality of formal education in the River Basin, particularly (to start with) at the elementary and secondary levels; and (2) an all-out effort to increase employment opportunities, especially in non-farm occupations. To achieve the second goal in a rational fashion, a survey of existing establishments, including those outside the manufacturing sector, will be an obvious prerequisite.[5]

In an assessment made of 87 OSY programs, Guerrero, et al., found that after training, more than one-half of the trainees remained unemployed or not working. The OSY were equally divided in their opinions on whether their training had a bearing on their present job. Half claimed it is related; the other half said it is not. The change in income after training was minimal and more than one-third had a monthly income of less than P100; another third earned P100 to P199 per

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[5]Jean Frances I. Illo and Frank Lynch, Who Get the Jobs - The Old or the Educated? Education and Employment in the Bicol River Basin, Social Survey Research Unit Research Report No. 8, July 1974.

month. The study concluded that: "the programs had minimal effect on the employability of the trainees. The increase in employment was rather small and those who got employed were in low-paying occupations." The suggestion was for the OSY programs to continue on with their present objectives of training the OSY in skills which would increase their employability and economic sufficiency but to consider the absorptive capacity of the economy for specific types of skills.[6]

As stated earlier, findings of the three case studies reported here with respect to the relationship between different secondary school curricula and employment are not very encouraging either. In the light of these discouraging results from a variety of sources, we need to reexamine the assumptions underlying the employment objectives of education and training programs. We must recognize that there are limits to what education and training can do to promote employment and therefore, the fact that youths remain unemployed even after undergoing training, finishing high school (even with a vocational curriculum) or graduating from college should not all be blamed on the school or on the failures of the training program. Even when we succeed in estab-

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[6]Sylvia H. Guerrero, Preliminary Report on the NMYC-UP/ISW CD Assessment of Out-of-School Youth Development Programs, (Presented at the National Seminar/Workshop on Out-of-School Youth Development, Development Academy of the Philippines, Tagaytay City, April 6-12, 1975.

lishing cottage industries, small-scale manufacturing, livestock raising, service industries, construction industries, dressmaking and tailoring shops, etc., there is still a basic problem of marketing products and creating a demand for services. Unless an export market were available, domestic demand for these goods and services depends on purchasing power of the local population, which in turn is determined by their incomes. There are evidences that where farm incomes have increased, the demand for goods and services has also increased and so have the opportunities for non-farm employment.[7] Programs therefore, which are designed to increase or complement agricultural productivity efforts have very positive implications for labor absorption both in farm and non-farm employment. These include irrigation, farm-to-market roads, credit, etc. Policies which promote domestic or export markets for our products can also have a more significant impact on youth employment than all of our training programs combined.

For a dramatic illustration of how government policy on agricultural development has significantly changed the employment situation for agriculturists, let us look at Leonor's 1969 study on high-level

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[7] Gelia T. Castillo, Agricultural Productivity, Patterns of Consumption, and Non-Farm Employment in the Rural Sector, University of the Philippines at Los Baños, 1973 and Arthur Gibbs, Jr., Agricultural Modernization, Non-Farm Employment and Low-Level Urbanization, (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis), University of Michigan, 1974.

manpower needs in agriculture. His findings indicated that based on employers' reports on anticipated needs and on an estimate of the potential supply within the next 5-year period then, only about 72 out of every 100 of the anticipated needs could be met. However, if the rate of increase in manpower stock for the two-year data analyzed were used as basis for effective hiring for the next few years, the employers could absorb only as many as 46 out of every 100 in the total supply.[8]

In Leonor's 1975 study on labor market of high-level manpower in agriculture, the employment outlook for 1976-1980 has shifted considerably. As he concludes:

> ..."If the projected needs in 1976-80 include those of 1975 and the existing vacancies, the employers would be more than doubling their present level of employment of B.S. degree graduates; about 30 percent more of those with the M.S., and 25 percent more of the Ph.D. graduates. The expansion of the manpower needs is quite high among government agencies. While the employment opportunities in the firms and colleges would not likely be as high as in the government agencies, yet the prospects are just as bright even without considering fully the needs of the Bureau of Vocational Education and of the Bureau of Public Schools.
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> If the projected needs reported were in addition to the existing vacancies this year and the needs in 1975, the pros-

[8] Mauricio D. Leonor, Jr., High-Level Manpower Needs in Agriculture as Reported by Employers, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, U.P. College of Agriculture, 1969.

pects for employment among agriculture college graduates would even be much better. The government agencies, for example, would be increasing their present level of employment by more than one and a half times for college graduates and almost close to that rate for those with advanced degrees. Among the private firms and schools, the expansion needs appear also substantial although not as large as those of the government agencies."[9]

This upward swing in the demand for agriculturists had taken place without revisions in the curricula of agricultural colleges. The market for their services was stimulated by the many government programs for agricultural development. It is about time we disabuse ourselves of the notion that education, (even reformed and restructured education), could solve the employment problems of youths. Education and training should not be held solely responsible for our failure to generate more employment.

It is very difficult to argue against education and training of youths even if we know that these programs can only lead to marginal or minimal employment. Although we should endeavour to improve the quality of education and training, we probably cannot as yet expect significant employment - generation from these investments. Perhaps

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[9] Mauricio D. Leonor, Jr., Labor Market of High-Level Manpower in Agriculture, Philippines, 1975, SEARCA and UPLB, 1975.

we should regard these programs as a subsidy to youth, the social cost of bringing them into the world.

No one can disagree with the Illo-Lynch suggestion of improving the quality of elementary and secondary education. When we promote better quality educational facilities and resources in the rural sector, (and we should really do so) there are at least three possible outcomes:

(1) Rural-urban migration would increase because potentials for college entry would be enhanced. If they finish college education and economic opportunities and amenities in their communities have not changed, their return to the rural area is not very likely. On the other hand, we can argue that if the "good things in life" are centered in the urban areas, then rural youths should have an equal chance to take advantage of these opportunities by migrating to where these "good things" are.

(2) The other side of the coin which justifies more educational investment in the rural area is the fact that one source of a community's attractiveness to professionals is the quality of educational facilities which are available for their children. The unwillingness of a doctor, an irrigation engineer, an agriculturist, or even a teacher to work and stay in a particular rural community is often aggravated by this factor as is the lament of local government officials who are unable

to hold on to needed development personnel. Hence, the slow pace of development programs in such places. Of course we have also seen that where business and industry have moved into an area, the amenities including better-quality schools seem to follow. On the other hand, all studies of rural-urban migration have shown that in addition to perceived employment advantages in the city, better educational opportunities for their children are part of the inducement to migrate.[10]

One can also speculate that successful programs in urban renewal, urban relocation, and urban housing are in fact potent demonstrations to rural youth of the obvious benefits of urban living even if they start as squatters. Considering the attention being given to urban squatters, it pays to adopt a philosophy of "If you want to get ahead in life, be a squatter so you can relocate, have a house and lot." Unless there is a major flow of development resources to the rural sector to counterbalance the lure of the city, there is no visible end to the rural-urban movement. We should, therefore, consider the rural side of the urban movement and deliberately plan for and develop several regional and provincial urban centers so that the Philippines will

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[10]Gelia T. Castillo, The Pot of Gold at the End of the Rainbow: Patterns of Internal Migration in the Philippines, (Forthcoming in Southeast Asian Spectrum, 1975).

cease to be Greater Manila Area and the rest of the country. Fortunately, there are development investments being made in this direction although significant impact has yet to be felt.

(3) We can expect more equality between rural and urban youth in terms of access to better-quality education and consequently more equal access to occupations which put a premium on educational qualifications. If the much dreamed-of college education is available within the region or the province, then it is not necessary to go to Manila. The chances that these youths who have been educated in the province would stay there to take the locally available development jobs are much greater. The Leonor study[11] which indicated the increasing localization of student clientele in the regional and provincial colleges of agriculture is evidence that this is a definite possibility. Among development agencies, there is also a growing preference for hiring local graduates. However, it is too much to expect that majority of rural youths who get educated would return to their village and continue to live and work there. At the moment, the best that can happen is for them to make a shorter-distance move to an urbanizing area in the region, a provincial or town center.

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[11] Mauricio D. Leonor, Jr., Labor Market of High-Level Manpower in Agriculture, op. cit.

C. Education as an equity measure.

According to the Philippine Social Indicators Project,[12] the school enrolment ratio which reflects the degree of accessibility of schooling to the population has grown at the elementary level from 80 percent in 1956/57 to about 100 percent by 1963/64. At the secondary level, the ratio grew from 26 percent in 1950/51 to 58 percent in 1970/71. At the tertiary level, it grew from only 8 percent in 1950/51 to 18 percent in 1970/71. To estimate the value of educational capital or what they call human capital stock created by schooling, the replacement cost approach was used. The cost of a year of elementary school was placed at P459, a year of high school at P2,165, and a year of college at P3,525. Included in these estimates are "the earnings foregone by the student while in school, the proportion of which is zero in elementary school, about 70 percent in high school and about two-thirds of the cost of a year in college." The conclusions of their analysis are as follows: (1) "The rate of investment in human capital has been faster than the rate of investment in physical capital." (2) "Human capital is becoming more

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[12] Development Academy of the Philippines, Measuring the Quality of Life: Philippine Social Indicators, 1975, pp. 8-9.

equitably distributed." (3) "The gaps are closing between males and females and between those of high education and those of little education."

The proliferation of barrio high schools all over the countryside has doubtless made a contribution to the school enrolment ratio at the secondary level. However, the National College Entrance Examination (NCEE) requirement has opened up a new dimension of quality of education available in these schools. Although access to high schools has increased, the inequality now lies in quality of education available to rural and urban youths. For every region of the Philippines, the students from the city schools obtained higher NCEE scores than those from the provincial ones and for all the subtests, Greater Manila Area examinees ranked Number One.[13] The results of the 1973 NCEE also showed that children whose father's main occupation is farming, fishing, or hunting have the highest percentage of failure among all the different occupational categories.[14]

Bacol's analysis of intergenerational occupational mobility found

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[13]Education Data Bank Statistical Bulletin, Vol. I, No. 2, Provincial and Regional Performance in the Various Subtests in the 1973 NCEE, FAPE, Oct. 1974.

[14]Fund for Assistance to Private Education, "Parental Background of Passing/Failing Examinees in the 1973 NCEE," Research and Development Report No. 11, November 1974.

that among the different occupational categories to which the fathers belong, there is a declining proportion of sons who have college education: 63.1 percent for the Elite Occupations; 33.6 percent for the middle class; 17.2 percent for the upper working class; 7.3 percent for the lower working class; 6.4 for farm owners; and only 1.5 for farm tenants and farm laborers. Although among the sons of farm tenants and farm laborers only 1.5 had college education, 75 percent of these sons made it to the elite and middle class occupations indicating that college education is a definite passport for upward occupational mobility for tenants' and farm laborers' children.

The advantages of living in Greater Manila come in many ways, one of which is the opportunity for college education. The Bacol study indicated that for every category of father's occupation, more of the Manila sons have been able to go to college than the national sample (34.5 percent for Manila sons and only 8.3 percent for the national sample).[15]

Since college education seems to be a path to upward social mobility even for farmers' children although only a small percentage of them make it to college and since farmers' children have the highest

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[15] Melinda M. Bacol, A Study of Inter-Generational Occupational Mobility in the Philippines, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, August 1971.

percentage of failure in the NCEE, improving the quality of elementary and secondary education in the rural areas would go a long way toward improving the life chances of tenants' and farm laborers' children.

With respect to the concept of foregone earnings as estimated by the Social Indicators Project, these case studies and that of Guerrero showed a high proportion of out-of-school youths who earn less than ₱100 a month or between ₱100 to ₱200. Of course there is a large group who are not gainfully employed or only minimally so and, therefore, the imputed foregone earnings of ₱2,165 per year for high school is perhaps too high even at 1972 prices. Although those who are not working for pay are helping in the farm or in the household chores, perhaps the cash value of their contribution might just be equivalent to the cost of their subsistence as provided by the family. If the foregone earnings have been overestimated, then the value of our human capital is not as high as presented.

D. Education and population control motivation.

Encarnacion in his analysis of income and education as major determinants of fertility and labor force participation found "a qualitative change in the effects of income and education when these variables fall short of certain threshold values." The implication he derived is that "at the earlier stages of economic development when

relatively large proportions of the population are below these thresholds, rising levels of income and education merely aggravate the population problem." A woman's education has a positive or negative effect on fertility depending on whether or not it falls below a threshold. For whatever reasons, below the threshold which was established to be between intermediate level (Grade 6 or 7) and high school, more education was associated with more children. When a woman's education exceeds this threshold, the negative relationship between number of children and education becomes more effective.[16]

One supportive rationale for providing high school education of whatever kind despite lack of significant impact on employability is for its potential dampening effect on fertility. Four years of secondary schooling could postpone marriage, increase exposure to population education, and raise levels of aspiration which can find fulfilment only with smaller family size. If these could be achieved, then four years of high school have found its own reason for being.

Incidentally the three case studies yielded other insights which have implications for the motivational schemes of family planning programs. When parents were asked if life chances of their children would

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[16]Jose Encarnacion, Jr., Fertility and Labor Force Participation, 1968 Institute of Economic Development and Research, School of Economics, University of the Philippines, 1973.

be better if there were fewer of them, more than three-fourths said "Yes"! Their reasons for the affirmative response are of two categories: (1) there would be fewer mouths to feed, fewer to clothe, and fewer to send to school, hence less expenses, etc.; (2) there would be more resources available to fewer children. These two sets of responses are qualitatively different. When one thinks of "fewer children means fewer mouths to feed," the motivation to increase income may also be less. As we often hear: "What is the use of working so hard when you have only two children?" On the other hand, the second category of response is a more positive approach to the same problem. It implies a non-diminished need for resources in order to achieve a better quality of life using reduced number of children as an avenue. Another way of looking at it in terms of the resource-population-ratio is that the first approach focuses on reducing the denominator; the second, puts emphasis on increasing the numerator, in addition to reducing the denominator.

But more revealing than these two observations are the reasons parents gave for saying that even with fewer children, life chances for them would not be any better. They have very eloquently pointed out that there is no necessary relationship between number of children and state of livelihood because there are parents who have only one or two

children and are still poor. Furthermore, fewer children means fewer breadwinners and, therefore, lower family income. We do in fact see many large families who are quite well-off and happy. Therefore, family planning posters which depict a large family with six miserable looking children and a small family with two happy children do not have much anchor in real life. We have oversimplified a complex situation to a point where such motivational schemes have probably little credibility.